

THE WHOLE
WORKS
OF

Walter Moyle, Esq;

That were Published by HIMSELF.

To which is prefixed

Some Account of his LIFE and WRITINGS,

By ANTHONY HAMMOND, Esq;



L O N D O N :

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TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE
The Lord Viscount
TOWNSHEND.

MY LORD,

AS these WRITINGS of Mr.
MOYLE, chiefly consist
in a Defence of our CONSTITU-
TION; the united Voice of the
publick will declare that they
cannot fall under any Patron-
age

DEDICATION.

age so proper as that of a
TOWNSHEND, or a WALPOLE.

The Principles of an *Englishman*, my Lord, are not to be dignified or distinguished by any Name, tho' were such an Attempt made, where either of Two appear, *Pater Patriæ* must be the immediate Deduction.

I shall not enter into a Detail of your LORDSHIP'S Virtues, it is sufficient to say, that all the Honours you enjoy are beneath your Merit; and as the Motive of this Address

DEDICATION.

dress is an Acknowledgment for Favours received; so the greatest that is even in your LORDSHIP's Power farther to confer, is, to permit the Declaration I here make, to remain as a perpetual Monument of my Gratitude.

*I am my Lord, with the
most profound Respect,*

Your Lordship's

most devoted

and most obedient

Humble Servant,

E. C.

DEDICATION

direct is an Acknowledgment
for Favours received; to the
greatest that is even in your
Lordship's Power rather to
consent, is to permit the De-
claration, here made, to re-
main as a perpetual Monu-
ment of my Gratitude.

I am my Lord, with the

most profound Respect,

Your Lordship's

most devoted

and most obedient

servant

Edw.

INTRODUCTION.

Giving some Account of Mr.
MOYLE and his WRITINGS.

THE principal Intention of collecting these Pieces was to do Justice to the Memory of the late Mr. MOYLE. It was looked upon as a very injurious Behaviour, that when his *Posthumous-Works* came from the Press, these valuable Tracts of his, which were printed in his Life-time and past his last Hand, should be dropt, as it were, in Oblivion; as they must have been, had they continued covered in those Volumes wherein they were by himself, originally interspersed.

This is a Treatment which it has been observed several great Authors have met with by some ignorant or careless modern Editors. At present we shall give Instances but of two of that Nature, Sir JOHN DAVIS and Dr. DONNE's *Poems*, the late Editions of which are, not only the worst of what were before published, but the Editors have been pleased to *drop* several of their finest *Pieces*, and *curtail* others; they best knew whether their falling in to this *mangling Work* did not proceed from the low view of saving a little Money.

In putting these Tracts together, it was thought necessary to give them some sort of Coherence; in order to which, a short Account of Mr. MOYLE's Life and Character, as a Writer, is offered.

WALTER

WALTER MOYLE *Esq*; was born in *Cornwal* 1672. And after a great Advancement in the politeſt Acquiſitions in School Learning, he finiſhed his Studies in the Univerſity of *Oxford*. From thence he was by his Father; Sir WALTER MOYLE, removed to the *Temple*, where he applied himſelf chiefly to the general and more noble parts of our Law, ſuch as led him into the Knowledge of the Conſtitution of our Government; there was a Drudgery in what he called *Law-Lucrative* which he could never ſubmit to.

My Acquaintance with him began in the latter end of the Year 1690. which was ſoon after I returned from a ſhort Tour I had made into *Holland* and ſome part of *Flanders*. It was Sir *Robert Marſham*, the younger Son of the learn-

ed Sir *John Marsham*, who brought us together.

He came into the World with a firm Zeal for the *Protestant-Settlement*, and a great Contempt for those who were capable of imagining that the Liberty of our Constitution and the Reformation could subsist under a Popish King; nor did he ever vary from these Sentiments. My Acquaintance with him continued without Interruption till I went into *Spain* in the Year 1711.

As he was a Man who judged and spoke freely of Things and Persons, he was a little apt, as Occasion offered, to distinguish between the *King* and some of his *Ministers*; between the *Legal Established Government*, and the *Interest* of a *Party*. In this some of his Friends did not always go along with him, though to the best of my remembrance

membrance I seldom varied from him. From a set of Company, of Learned and Ingenious Gentlemen, who frequented *Manwayring's-Coffee-House* in *Fleet-street*, he fell much into the Conversation of Gentlemen at the *Grecian-Coffee-House* near the *Temple*. Some Disgust he took there, against the Clergy; which happened to be the Subject of frequent but friendly Disputes between us. Here, he had a Share with Mr. *Trenchard* in Writing the *Argument* against a *Standing Army*, which has furnished the Materials for many a Speech and many a Pamphlet ever since.

To be nearer the more entertaining part of the Town, he removed to *Covent-Garden*. Here it was, (as Mr. *Dryden* declares ‡) that *the Learning and Judgment, above his Age, which*

‡ See, his LIFE of LUCIAN.

every one discovered in Mr. Moyle, were Proofs of those Abilities he has shewn in his Country's Service, when he was chose to serve it in the Senate, as his Father Sir Walter had done.

In the Year 1697, at the request of Dr. D'Avenant, he translated *Xenophon's Tract* upon Improving the Revenue of the State of Athens, and sent it to him. It was annexed to his *Discourses* on the Publick Revenues, and on the Trade of England 8^{vo}. in the 34th and 35th page whereof he gives the following Account of Mr. Moyle's Performance.

“ It was made *English*, says Dr.
 “ D'Avenant, by a young Gentleman
 “ whose Learning and ripe Parts promise greater Matters hereafter; since,
 “ in this *first Essay* he has shewn himself so great a Master, both in his
 “ own and the *Greek Language*. And
 “ it

Mr. MOYLE and his Writings. 7

“ it is hoped this Example will incite
“ other Persons in his Post, of his Age*,
“ Rank and Fortune to study the *Busi-*
“ *ness of Trade* and the *Revenues* of
“ their *Country*. The *Original* is high-
“ ly esteemed by all the learned World,
“ and the Reader will find *Xenophon*
“ has suffered nothing in this *Version*.

To this we may add, that his close Application to these parts of solid and useful Learning will be farther confirmed by the following Letters; which we have chosen to publish in this place, as well to shew his Disposition (to what he judged to be) for the Welfare of his Country, and at the same time to illustrate the proper Method of Study which he at so early an Age was fallen into.

* Mr. Moyle was then but in his 26th Year.

Bake near Loo in Cornwal.

Jan. 14. 169³/₉.

Dear HAMMOND,

I *Hear with great Joy of your noble Proceedings in the House of Commons, and should be extremely glad if you would sometimes rob from the Publick an half hour in Writing such welcome News to one who longs with much Impatience to hear an account of things from so good a Hand. Of old, in our Days of Pleasure, we used to communicate our Joys and our Afflictions, but since those Days are over, and a dull Scene of Business succeeds, let us still keep up the Forms of an agreeable Correspondence. Pleasures vary with each different*

different Age, for God and Nature never made any Faculty either in Soul or Body, but prepared a suitable Object in order to its regular Gratification. Success in Business diverts the Spleen, that would now and then break in upon us in Retirement: It touches the Passions, and gives an Agitation of the Mind, that carries along with it some Resemblance of our earlier and livelier Pleasures, especially when the publick Good is accompanied with satisfying a just tho' private Resentment. I would not constrain you to the Drudgery of a regular Correspondence, but only a Letter sometimes upon a great Flight in the House, as Wymondsolde expresses it.

You desired, I remember, a Series of Authors for the Grecian History, take them in Order of Time as follows, viz.

I. Hero-

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|---------------------------------|-----------------------|
| I. Herodotus. | IX. Appian. |
| II. Thucydides. | X. Diogenes Laertius. |
| III. Xenophon. | |
| IV. Polybius. | XI. Philostratus. |
| V. Diodorus Siculus. | XII. Dion Cassius. |
| | XIII. Herodian. |
| VI. Dionysius Halicarnassensis. | XIV. Zosimus. |
| VII. Plutarch, | XV. Proandcopius. |
| VIII. Arrian. | XVI. Agathias. |

I. *The Style of HERODOTUS is noble, and at the same time elegant; his Design comprehensive and well executed. He is called by CICERO the Father of History, and unjustly censured by PLUTARCH; I cannot allow him to be the Author of Homer's Life, which passes under his Name.*

II. *THUCYDIDES is exact, and a just Observer*

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Observer of Truth, lofty and yet regular in his Thoughts and Expressions. He is esteemed the most accomplished Genius for History among the Greeks. You told me, if I mistake not, that Sir John Marsham † said, Mr. Hobbes was assisted by Dr. Pearson (who wrote upon the Creed,) in his Translation of Thucydides; yet I can assure you, it is not very exact, though I know it is generally allowed to be excellently well performed.

III. *XENOPHON is natural, pleasing and lively; a wonderful Sense of Religion runs through his Works. He was much read and admired by the Ancients themselves.*

IV. *POLYBIUS is likewise exact as THUCYDIDES. He is a judicious, grave*

† *Sir John Marsham Bart. Eldest Son to Sir John Marsham mentioned before.*

and

and instructive Author, but more a Statesman than an Historian. I am sorry our Acquaintance Sir Henry Sheers, who has given the English World a Translation of him, understood French so well, and Greek so ill, but I will say no more.

V. DIODORUS SICULUS, *who lived in the Time of AUGUSTUS, is most valuable for his Collections out of other Authors, most of which are now lost.*

VI. DYONISIUS HALICARNASSEUS *is solid, learned and judicious; He understood the Constitution of the Roman Government, and the Customs of Rome, better than the Romans themselves.*

VII. PLUTARCH *wants no Character, and you are too well acquainted with him to receive any from me; his Historical*

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rical Parts must be read as they fall into the Order of Time.

VIII. *Of the rest, I shall only now mention, APPIAN and DION CASSIUS, the first of them makes large Depreciations on the Greek Historians, who lived and wrote before his Time; and the latter I am angry with, because he seems to delight in Improbabilities. Of his Books, Thirty Four are lost, and Twenty Six only remain. XIPHILIN, who was Patriarch of Constantinople, and died A. D. 1080, made a Compendium of his last Books, which still remain.*

Pray give my humble Service to Sir Walter Clarges, Jack Tredenham, Wymondsfolde, and Dr. B——.

I am Your most

Humble Servant,

W. MOYLE.

Bake,

Bake, Feb. 7. 169³.

Dear HAMMOND,

I Was very agreeably surprized with your Vote against the Admiralty, which will certainly be the Fore-runner of the Downfal of the baffled Party. Now you have made a Breach upon the Body, it will be easy to hunt them singly from the Herd, and run them down as you please. Ministry-Hunting is a noble Sport, and I am sorry I am out at the Chace ! It is wisely done of you to flesh your young Members with an easy Prey, and reserve the Lords of the Treasury for the last Triumph of the Sessions. But what in the Name of Wonder is become of this terrible Party, that carried all before them last Session, what has
reduced

*reduced them to this low Ebb? Have they lost their Wisdom with Goodwin Wharton's Apoplexy, or their Wit with Harry Mordaunt? Is all their Eloquence fled with Sir Harry Hobart, or all their Impudence shipt away with Norris to the East-Indies? whatever they have lost in these Gentlemen, I believe they will gain little by the Apostacy of that Welch-Owl who was for reforming the Nation by a Standing Army, and Dra-gooning us into Morality. Jack Tredenham writes me, that the Coxcomb has had another Repulse from the House, who, I hope, will still continue in the Pious Resolution of enacting no Penal Laws against our Pleasures. I find, by the printed News, that Duncomb's Try-al (in Westminster-Hall) is to come on this Week. I wish him a good Deliver-ance with all my heart, I love him be-
4 cause*

cause the Court pursues him with such implacable Malice for having the Impudence last Session to defend his Honour, which he told us was dearer to him than his Life, and to save his Estate which is dearer to him than either, against the Will and Pleasure of an insolent Upstart. It is something like a Story I read lately in Cicero. "When Marius the Head of the Whig Faction in Rome, like a true Patriot, had sacked the City, &c. among other Outrages, one of his Ruffians stabbed a Man of Quality, but the Wound not proving mortal, he brought his Action against him, Quòd ferrum malignè reciperat, for not taking the Thrust up to the Hilt." This is exactly Duncomb's Case. And puts me in mind of a Question I had forgot to Answer, viz. what Books I was reading.

ing. I study nothing but the Roman History and the Constitution of their Government †, which is a more agreeable amusement, tho' not so profitable a study as what Salway Winnington is embarked in, which may qualify him upon the next Vacancy to be a Lord of the Treasury.

Give my Service to Jack Tredenham, tell him I will answer his Letter, God willing, next Post. Pray give my Service to my Lord Peterborough, I hear he behaved himself like an Englishman in the House of Lords.

I am, &c.

W. MOYLE.

† The good effects of which are now shewn in his Excellent *Essay upon the Roman Government*. See, his *Posthumous Works*. Vol. I. But the Editor is greatly mistaken, in saying Mr. Moyle wrote that Piece in the 24th Year of his Age, when it plainly appears that this Letter was written in the 27th. So that this Editor's is meer Hearsay Evidence.

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Dear

Nov. 1. 1699.

Dear HAMMOND,

THE World of late has been so barren of News, that I would not impose upon you the trouble of a Correspondence that would give you so much pains, rather in guessing what should happen hereafter, than instructing me in the present posture of Affairs, which I fancy has been at a stand a good while. I have had nothing new from London since the Sun and Moon balked the Astronomers, and since the memorable race of the Pig and the Page, the issue of which was surprising to our Country Gentlemen, tho' it was no wonder to me, who knew long ago that the
King's

King's Pages naturally hang an A—. But now a new Scene is about to open* and a few days will discover whether the resolute Assertors of our Liberties last Session will tamely give them up the next. The D. of Sh— coming in, is the greatest riddle on the Earth to me. Is he once more to be placed at the head of a sinking Party, or is he to be put again between the two Horns of the Monarch's Dilemma, the Seals, or the Tower? however he comes in, I am confident it will do good Service to our Cause next Sessions, and let the Church Party see they are not like to be our Governors in the Ministry, and I hope for that reason they will be our Protectors in the House of Commons. D' Avenant I hear is attacking the Grants of this Reign in

* The Session of Parliament opened the 16th of November, 1699.

a new Discourse, which is an admirable Design, and may God bless it. I hope the House will fall warmly on the Officers, and the Horse that have been kept up to inflame the Charge and controul the Danger of a Standing Army. For to be plain with you, I think your last Act signifies little to our real Security from an Army, it reduces the Army, but does not disband it. It keeps up the most dangerous and the most expensive part of the Forces. In my humble opinion, you ought to make a new Bill, and grant the King as many Men as he had last Year, but you should ascertain the number of Regiments and Companies, which should be as compleat as in the time of War, and consequently the King would be obliged to break more Corps, which only makes an Army dangerous to Liberty in time

of

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*of Peace. I beg your Pardon for this
impertinent long Letter.*

I am your most

affectionate Friend

and Servant,

W. MOYLE.

P. S. My Service to *D'Avenant* and
Fletcher.

The last, of these *Letters*, shews
how near the Liberty of his Country
lay at his Heart, and that led him to
read with so much Care Mr. *Nevil's*
Plato Redivivus (which he particu-
larly mentions in his *Essay* on the *La-
cedæmonian Government*) and that Piece
occasioned a Letter from a Friend of
his,

his, which as it is luckily fallen into our Hands we hope we may be excused for inserting it here.

TO WALTER MOYLE *Esq;*

SIR,

YOUR mentioning *Plato Redivivus*, in our late Conversation, has induced me once more to take a cursory Review of that Book, and to give you my Judgment of it; I think it is written with great Solidity, and shews a good extent of useful Reading upon Political Subjects; and we must allow, that setting aside a little of the Formality which is incident to, and almost inseparable from, the grave travelled Politician, I think it may pass as a good Book

Book among the severest Criticks. He seems to assume to himself the Honour of being the first Assertor of the great Political Maxim, That Empire is founded in Property, but however this be, we must do him the Right to declare that the late Happy Revolution has brought such a Change in our Constitution in those several Branches which he only wished and proposed to King Charles II. The condemning the illegal Dispensing Power, usurped and exercised by King James II. has fixed the Legislature in King, Lords and Commons. The laying the whole Proceedings of the War before the Parliament, has regulated the Prerogative of declaring Peace and War, so, as that it can never with Safety or common Prudence be exercised but by consent of Parliament. The late great Work of remedy-

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ing the ill State of the Coin has taken away all pretence from the Crown of raising or lowering the Value of our Money, either in Weight, Fineness or Denomination. The settling the Civil List is the grand Point Mr. Nevil hints at, though he is obliged to do it very nicely, for he wrote for the View of King Charles II. and you may be sure his Royal Brother among the many Acquisitions he had gained in foreign Parts, had fixed in his Mind a most terrible Idea of a DOGE of Venice. As for the naming and chusing the great Officers of State, which is still left to the Crown, it is not indeed exactly agreeable to Mr. Nevil's Scheme, but I may offer one Thing upon that Head, which is this, so long as we are under a necessity of annual Sessions of Parliament, and that must be as long as the Care and Charge of making

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ing annual Provisions for the Navy and the Guards and Garrisons lies upon the Parliament, we need not be very apprehensive, that any Ministers or Officers in high Stations will be able to hurt the Constitution, without some Animadversion by way of Impeachment or Attainder by Parliament. That this Treatise was ill relished by some very good Men when it first appeared in the World, proceeded only from their being under an Enchantment in a Circle of narrow Principles. A Mother who was a Royalist and a Father descended from a suffering Clergy-man for a Tutor, are very little qualified to instruct in the Nature of the Constitution of England, or in the Rights and Privileges of the free-born Subject. In pag. 252. He is for having no Peer made but by Act of Parliament, if that Prerogative is exercised

exercised so as to endanger the Government, it may deserve future Consideration. As for annual new Parliaments he did not consider the ferment the Kingdom would be kept in by such frequent Elections; like a Baker's-Oven the Nation would never be cool. Constant Appropriations of the Publick Money, as now, and as I hope will be for ever used with us, will please the Ghost of our departed Patriot. He was but weakly attacked by an Answer dedicated to King Charles II. and signed W. W. The Title is, Antidotum Britannicum: or, a Counter Pest against the destructive Principles of Plato Redivivus. Wherein his Majesty's Royal Prerogatives are asserted, and the ancient Rights of the Imperial Crown of England are vindicated against all Innovations. I had almost forgot to tell you, that

that the Physician who has a part in Mr. Nevil's Dialogue was, as I am informed, designed to represent the famous Dr. Harvey who relieved his abstruser Studies by Conversations in Politicks. I submit it to your Thoughts how far the Property the King has now in the 700,000 l. per Annum (which is for Life) gives him a Weight and Power in the Government, equal to the share the Kings of England had formerly in Land.

I am,

SIR, &c.

Some time after this, Mr. MOYLE came into Parliament, where he always acted a very honourable and disinterested Part;
But

But he had made so great Advances in the most polite Branches of Learning, and was so bent upon those Studies, that he never had any Relish for that Station. His Thoughts were rather turned upon making the best Advantages by Reading, especially in History, from which he collected the Forms, the Constitutions, and the Laws of Governments. He observed carefully the Revolutions and Changes they underwent, and not only the Events themselves, but the secret Causes of them. However in Parliament, he applied himself to consider the Improvement and Regulation of Trade, foreign and domestick; and likewise the Employment of the Poor, which has so near a Connection to the augmenting our domestick Trade.

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It is worth our Notice, that in the Year 1704 there were *three* BILLS relating to the Poor depending at one time in Parliament; and yet very little has been done to this Day in a matter so necessary to the publick Welfare. Upon this Occasion, he observed in the *House of Commons*, “ That though
“ Religion and Interest govern the
“ World, and when these happen to
“ interfere, the most part of Mankind
“ sacrifice their Religion to their Interest; yet in relation to providing
“ for the Poor, we in *England* acted
“ contrary to both in this Instance, of
“ not relieving all that are really impotent, and in not employing all that
“ are capable of Employment; And
“ that in his Opinion the Government
“ was responsible for all those, who
“ were reduced to the hard, and criminal
“ minal

“ minal necessity of Begging, or Steal-
“ ing.

He took great pains in forwarding a BILL for the encouraging of Seamen and the effectual and speedy Manning of the Royal Navy; And how little Progress has been made likewise in that necessary Work, the late Hurry we have been in, demonstrates. “ Mr. “ MOYLE thought, that so many, “ and so great Encouragements might “ be given to our Seamen, that the “ Crown need no more want Sailors “ than the Revenue wants Officers to “ collect it. ” He made a Computation at that time of about 20,000 Naval Officers and of about 150,000 common Seamen, in all 170,000 ; He concluded that if a competent Number of these Men, were exempted from personal Arrests, and their Persons from
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being detained in Prisons; if they were exempted from the Parish Officers, and in some respects from Parish Duties; if there were by degrees proper Habitations provided for them; if the payment of their Wages were always made in Money, or in Bills, which should be current in all the Branches of the Revenue; If these and many other Privileges and Advantages were granted to Sailors, he thought we could be never at a loss for Seamen for the Royal Fleet. These *two* important points took up many of his Thoughts and of our Conversation when they were almost every Session recommended from the Throne to the Consideration of the Parliament. He had a Beneficence and Humanity in his natural Disposition, which was very uncommon; a more extensive Charity

nor a truer Love to his Country was scarce to be found in any Man. This led him to observe; “ that the *Obligation to Moral Duties* never stamp so clear a Conviction upon the *Mind*, never leave so strong a Force upon the *Will*, as when there is implanted a Natural Passion tending towards it, and giving incitements to it; ” Thus he found that his innate Pity and Compassion did prepare and cultivate the Ground to receive the seeds of Charity, to the Poor. So founded in Nature, it becomes a Duty, and there must be no small Degree of acquired Depravity to weaken our Sense of the Obligation to it. As this great Duty is deducible from the first motions of Pity in our Souls, so the clearness of those general Propositions into which it may be resolved, soon brings it to

be an effect of *Reason* well informed. Then it takes yet deeper Root, and is not subject, or liable to be disordered, or scattered by Ebbs and Flows of *Passion*, which depend too much upon the Motion of the Animal Spirits to form a constant and perpetual Disposition of the *Will*. All these Motives concurred to make him a charitable Man, and a zealous Patriot.

He read all the Original Authors both *Greek* and *Latin*; And We esteem'd those to be Original Authors, who writ before the Birth of *Christ*, or about 440 Years after: From *Ann. Dom.* 440 to 1440 was a long, but dark Period of Time, and he aimed only to preserve a Thread of the History of that middle Age. The Schoolmen and Scholastick Divinity, which flourished then, he neglected; But it appears that

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in the latter part of his Life, he launched far into *Ecclesiastical History*. He made frequently a Review of the best Systems of all *Sciences*, being used to say; “ That
“ it was necessary for every Man, who
“ applies himself to matters of Learn-
“ ing, to have a general Knowledge
“ of the Elements of *Them*; ” And
from hence, he was incessantly collect-
ing Fundamental Maxims, and Right
Distinctions and Divisions in all Parts
of Learning. It was early in his Life,
that he was framing a Scheme, by which
Books might be so disposed in his Li-
brary, that they might give him even
by their Disposition a regular and use-
ful View of all the several Walks of
Learning and Knowledge. In order to
this in the first Place, a Distribution of
them was to be made into four grand
Divisions. The first of which should
contain

contain all that are *Theological*. The second, *Law* in all its kinds. The third, *Sciences* and *Arts*: And the fourth, *History*.

After this it will be found necessary to fix Books in a more particular Order; as for Instance, among those of the first grand Division, which is *Theology*, there must be placed distinctly, the *Holy Scriptures* and its *Expositors* together; then the *Councils*, *Fathers*, and the *Works* of the *Schoolmen* and of the more *Ancient* and *Modern* Divines.

For *Law*; they may be ranged under three Heads; first the *Law* of *Nature* and *Nations*, and the *Laws* of *particular foreign Countries*, *Ancient* and *Modern*. 2. The *Civil* and *Canon-Law*. 3. The *Common* and *Statute-Law* of our own Kingdom.

Under the third grand Division of *Arts and Sciences* six Branches of Learning may be included, 1. *Philosophy*, 2. *Physick*, 3. *Mathematicks*, 4. *Grammar*, including *Dictionaries*, &c. 5. *Rhetorick*. 6. *Poetry*.

Philosophy is placed in this Division first, and takes in *Ancient* and *Modern Philosophy* with their respective Systems; *Natural History*, *Logick*, *Ethicks*, *Politicks*, *Metaphysicks*; But of these three last, it is to be understood, that the entire Systems of them are only to be ranged in this Division; for many Books of *Ethicks* and *Metaphysicks* will more properly fall under *Theology*, as *Politicks* will under *Law* and *History*.

To *Physick Books* must be joined, *Anatomy* and *Chymistry*.

For *Mathematicks* he referred to an excellent Division of them, into all its
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larger

larger and minuter Branches, in a little Tract of Mr. *Lewis Maidwell's*, or in Mr. *John Dee's* Mathematical Preface before EUCLID's *Elements*.

The Sub-divisions of *History* are very natural and easy, *Geography* and *Chronology* are previous to it, and never to be separated from it. Historians are either Ecclesiastical: or, Profane. Ancient: or, Modern. General: or, Particular.

Mr. MOYLE seldom read an Author of any Note, but he made large Extracts; this appears by the diffusive reading which is shewn in his Writings.

Discourſing once of the Cause of the Increase of Building, it was assigned to proceed from the natural Increase of Mankind, because there are more born than die. *Increase* and *Multiply*, whether it was the first Blessing of the Creation, or the first Command, appears

eminently amongst Mankind in every good Government, where Liberty and Property is well secured. Upon this Subject I received some *Excerpta* from Mr. MOYLE out of the Lord Chief Justice *Hale* On the Origination of Mankind; he observes that it may be sufficiently proved by sacred History, that Man doth naturally increase; that the World was first peopled by the Increase from *Adam* and *Eve*, and after the Deluge re-peopled by *Noah* and his Sons, *Shem*, *Ham* and *Japhet*. This is illustrated by the particular History of the Jews, who began from the single Stock of *Abraham* by *Isaac* and so from *Jacob*; and when *Moses* numbred them at no longer distance of Time than about two hundred and sixty Years from *Jacob*, they were above six hundred thousand fighting Men, reckoning only

ly from twenty Years Old and upwards, besides Women and Children; and at another Period, when numbred by *David*, which was about four hundred and fifty Years after, they were grown a very numerous and great Nation, being thirteen hundred thousand fighting Men of *Judah* and *Israel*.

But Mr. *Moyle* farther observed, that the excellently learned and accurate Author abovementioned, in his Discourse on this Subject, was not contented to rely wholly on Arguments drawn from the Authority of holy Writ, and therefore takes other Topicks to confirm the Relation of *Moses* concerning the Beginning of the World, and the peopling of it by a natural Increase.

I. From the late Date of History; There being no Authentick History of any Transaction, that does not come

within the Compass of less than a thousand Years before Christ, except the History of *Moses*, and none so old as his by several hundred Years, that treat of the beginning of Things.

2. From the Chronological Account of Times; That the *Assyrian*, *Egyptian*, and *Grecian* Accounts are to be found out in what Year of the World they began; the Three great *Æras* of Chronology are within thirty Years one from the other; the Unknown, the Fabulous and Historical Ages, was a Division of Time as old as *Varro*, the most learned among the *Romans*.

3. From the beginning of the most Ancient Kingdoms; That *Rome* was built by *Romulus*, and so of other Founders of Empires.

4. From the first Invention of Arts; That the Times of the first Invention of
Agri-

Agriculture and making of Wine are as well known as the latter Inventions of Gunpowder and Printing are now among us.

5. From the Decays of human Nature; But how far this may be true, Mr. MOYLE left to a more nice Enquiry.

6. From the beginning of Religions; That the Time of the Inauguration of the Heathen Deities are known; as when *Jupiter*, *Bacchus* and *Æsculapius*, and the rest of them, were but Men of great Renown, and for their good Deeds after their Death worshipped.

7. From the beginning of the first Planters of the Continents and Islands of the World; as *Helenes* gave the Denomination to *Grecians* so called, *Pelasgus* to the *Pelasgi*, *Latinus* to the *Latins*, and the Country called *Latium*, *Italus* to the *Italians*; and these things

things are as certain as that the *English* gave name to *New-England* in *America*, and the Names of the Towns there *London* and *New-York*.

8. From the gradual Increase of Mankind; That considering the Time of his first Procreation, which is agreed to be about fifteen or sixteen Years to the Time he gives over, which is about sixty: It cannot be otherwise believed, but that in the space of five and forty Years he must produce a very numerous Off-spring: And it is no wonder amongst us, for one Person to see a hundred descended from him.

Afterwards Judge *Hale* comes to Observations of the Increase of the People of *England* in particular, by comparing the present State of it with the Survey set down in the *Dooms-Day Book*, and makes an Instance in *Glocestershire*, his
native

native Country, by which it appeareth, that the Inhabitants of that County since that Time are very much increased.

And last of all he proves the Increase of the People in the City of *London* from the Bills of Mortality; which two last Arguments carry with them the greatest Force, because they do most clearly and evidently discover the matter of Fact as it is in our own Nation. As to the first, it is certain that there is above thirty times more People in *England*, than there were in *William* the Conqueror's Reign, when that Survey was taken; and as to the latter, it may be seen by the Abstracts of the Bills of Mortality. If we trace this matter backwards to the most early Ages, of which we have any Accounts of *Britain*, we must allow from the Descriptions of great Woods, many small Governments

ments within a little extent of Country, as for Instance, four Kings within the County of *Kent*, and the manner of the People's living without Arts in those Ancient Times, are Three Demonstrative Proofs that the Nation was very thinly peopled. For first, where there are great Forests, there is not room for Pasture, or Corn to feed Mankind; besides they are Shelter for Numbers of Beasts of Prey, which Men, as they increase, do every where destroy; for Man allows no Flesh-eaters to live but himself, except the *Dog* and the *Cat*, which are only to eat what he pleases, and he makes them tame for his Use. The *Lion*, the *Bear* and the *Wolf* are not to be found in populous Countries, and we find it is the first Business of all Planters in *America*, and in all new discovered Countries, to clear the Woods
and

and to destroy the wild Beasts, to make room to settle themselves.

The many little Governments shew a Country in its Infancy; for from single Family-Government, small Governments began, and from a Conjunction of these by the various Accidents Human Affairs are subject to, greater Kingdoms had their Commencements. Besides it farther deserves Consideration, that without Trade, Arts and Manufactures, a great number of People cannot live together; as likewise the Earth by the Improvement of Agriculture produceth ten times more Food, than it can naturally, and the Arts of the City are paid for the Provisions of the Country. All ancient History, as well as that of *Moses*, proves that *Asia* was first peopled, particularly in *Mesopotamia* about *Babylon*:
And

And as Mankind increased, and the Country filled with Inhabitants, Arts were invented and they possessed more Ground, till they spread themselves into *Egypt*, and so over *Africa*, and from thence into *Greece* and by degrees over *Europe*; and now *Europe* being full, their swarm begins to fill *America*. All the ancient Descriptions of the Countries of *Europe*, in the times of the *Roman* Greatness, are just such as are now given of *America*, and differ very much from what these Parts of the World are now in Number of Cities, Towns, Arts and Sciences. We have an Authentick Account of the State of *England* from *Cæsar's Commentaries*; had the Country been populous, he was too good a Judge of Attempts of that Nature to have ventured at first to invade it with two Legions; and

at the second time, when he designed a full Conquest, brought over with him but five Legions, that is about five and twenty thousand Men. Altho' some may think from the great Armies we read of under *Cyrus* and *Xerxes* in *Asia*, and the vast Inundations of the *Goths* and *Vandals* in *Europe* in their Invasions under *Attila* and others, that the World was then more populous than now, because we hear of no such Numbers of late; yet if it be maturely considered, that very Argument demonstrates only the different manner of their Fighting, and the Infancy of the World, the want of People and of Arts, rather than that it was at that time populous. The Armies of those Ages were made up after the same manner of those of the Jews, by taking all that were able to bear Arms, reckoning from
about

about twenty Years old to sixty. When *Cesar* had slain the Army of the *Nervii*, a People about *Tournay* in *Flanders*, the old Men and Women petitioning for Mercy, declared that there was not five hundred Men left in the whole Nation, that were able to bear Arms. Out of ten Millions of People in *England*, we may very well compute three Millions and a half, who after this manner are able to go to War, and that would be a greater Number than was yet ever read of. Tho' the *Goths* and *Vandals*, and the cold Parts of the World made their Invasions, as some have affirmed, for want of Room to live in, yet that in Truth proceeded from want of Arts and Learning; for as by Arts the Earth is made more fruitful, and by consequence capable of containing more Inhabitants;
so

so by the Invention of the Compass, and Printing, the World is made more conversable and more improved; by the first Nations trade and exchange the Commerce they abound with, for those they want, and thus the Inhabitants of the cold and barren Countries are better fed, better cloathed, and better lodged, which makes them endure the Extremities of their Climates better than formerly; and as they increase they build new Towns, enlarge their Cities, and improve their own Country, instead of invading and destroying their Neighbours.

Thus Mr. *Moyle* penetrated deep into all the Authors he read, and he was very nice in the choice of them. An Exactness of Reasoning was his peculiar Talent, to that was joined a Vivacity of Expression that never failed him.

He used often to regret the not having the Advantage of Travelling Abroad; but to make amends for this, he read all the Accounts of all Parts of the World that he could meet with, and made very useful Reflections upon them.

He observed that in all flourishing Times, it had been the care of our Princes and their Ministers to encourage the Arts of Peace, and all solid and beneficial Improvements in Trade; Merchants and others have been prompted to enter upon well grounded and practicable Adventures; among which the Discovery of unknown Lands he thought justly merited the first place in the Thoughts of the wisest and the greatest Men our Kingdom has produced. These are Things that carry along with them Advantages in many respects, and

are

are valuable in their own Nature ; there is nothing Chimerical in the Intention and Design of them, and Glory and Profit has attended them in their event. To such Adventures and Discoveries we owe the Increase of our Trade and Navigation, and the Riches which flow in upon us from our Settlements and Plantations Abroad.

It still remains for us to endeavour to search out the North-West-Passages, to sail near the Pole and solve the Problem in *Geography*, whether *Europe* and *America* join or not ; and whether we may not that way launch into the *Tartarian* Ocean. What Discoveries yet remain to be made of Continents, or Islands in those Seas, which ought most properly to be called, the South-Seas, I mean those large spaces of the Globe due South of the *Cape of Good-Hope*,
and

52 *Some ACCOUNT, of Mr. MOYLE.*
and due South of *Terra del Fuego*
and on the other side of the Globe *Hud-*
son's and *Davis's* Streights, *Nova Zem-*
bla and the Streights of *Weygat* are
still to be attempted.

It is too well known how *England*
lost the Golden Mountains of *Chili* and
the Silver Mines of *Peru* and *Mexico*;
and by that Neglect the Wealth of the
richest part of the Earth has been sacri-
ficed to the Zeal, Tyranny and Sloth
of the proudest, and at the same time the
poorest Nation in *Europe*. Some learn-
ed Men have thought that almost one
half of the Terrestrial Globe is yet un-
discovered, but by modest Computa-
tion, he supposed one fourth part to be
yet *Terra Incognita*.

Some farther Matters, relating to the
Writings of Mr. *Moyle*, I shall refer to
my Review of them in the close of this
Volume.

A. H.

XENOPHON's
DISCOURSE
UPON
Improving the Revenue
OF THE
State of ATHENS.

First Printed in the Year 1697.

B

By James A. Smith, Esq. Attorney
and one of the Justices of the Peace
for the County of New York
in and for the City of New York

THE
DISCOURSE

UPON
Improving the Revenue

OF THE
State of ATHENS

First Printed in the Year 1807.

T O

Dr. D' A V E N A N T.

S I R,

AT length the WAR, which has been carried on for so many Tears, with such expence of Blood and Treasure to the Nation, is at an end; and we have the fairest prospect imaginable of a lasting PEACE, and a happy Settlement under the Government of a Prince, who after he has employed his Arms abroad with so much success for the defence of our Liberties; will, we hope, turn all his Councils to the finishing so glorious a Design, and be as renowned to future Ages, for the peaceful arts of Government, as for his military Virtues: As his Courage has made us safe, so his Wisdom, undoubtedly, will make us rich and happy, by the improvement of our Navigation, and the increase of our Trade: For it is to Trade we owe the rise and progress of the English

Greatness, that has enabled us to support so tedious a WAR against the most formidable Power which has been known in Europe for these many Ages, and that alone can enable us to discharge the vast Debts we have contracted by the WAR. Trade being of such mighty consequence to the interest of the Nation, will, we hope, meet with due encouragement and protection from our Laws, and will be settled under the ablest Management, and the wisest Regulation. These Branches of our Commerce, which have been impaired or lost by the Pyratick WAR, and the fatal interruption of our Navigation, may be retrieved by the PEACE, and other Trades, and particularly that with France, which the Negligence, or the mistaken Counsels of the last Reigns had settled upon a foot so destructive to our Interest, may be established to our Advantage in a new Treaty of Commerce. The great Trade to the East-Indies, with some few Regulations, might be established upon a bottom more consistent with the Manufactures of England; but in all appearance, this is not to be compassed, unless some publick spirited Man with a masterly Genius be placed at the head of our Affairs in India; and the
we

we who are his friends, are loth to lose him, it were to be wished, for the good of the Kingdom, that the Gentleman * whom common Fame, and the Voice of the World, have pointed out as the ablest Man for such a Station, would employ his excellent Judgment and Talents that way, in the Execution of so useful a Design.

The general Interest of a Nation ought to be the Care of particular Men, the main bent of their Studies, and the chief Pursuit of their Inquiries: Every Man ought to set his helping Hand to such a Work: And your own generous Labours upon this Subject, have set an excellent Pattern to the rest of the World. To this End I present you with a Translation of this Discourse of Xenophon upon the Subject of Revenue and Trade, and I fancy it will be no unwelcome Entertainment to you, to find your own admirable Observations upon these matters, confirmed by the Authority of one of the greatest Men that ever Antiquity produced, and the only ancient Author upon this Subject, which is now extant. You will admire the Force and Solidity of his Observations, the Exactness

* Dr. D'Avenant.

of his Calculations, the Justness and Freedom of his Thoughts, not confined to the narrow notions of Parties and Factions, and the vigour of his Judgment and Eloquence at so great an Age. The general Rules for the increase of Riches and Trade, are either directly advanced, or may be very naturally deduced from this Discourse. This admirable Maxim, That the true Wealth and Greatness of a Nation, consists in numbers of People, well employed, is every where inculcated throughout the whole course of the Treatise. And I believe Xenophon was the first Author that ever argued by Political Arithmetick, or the Art of reasoning upon things by Figures, which has been improved by some able Heads of our own Nation, and carried to the highest Perfection by your own successful Inquiries.

As for what relates to my Translation, I have rather chosen to render the Sense and Meaning of the Author, than his Words, or his Manner: The Purity, Politeness, and unaffected Simplicity of his Stile, are Graces not to be copied by the Barrenness and Barbarity of our modern Languages.

I hope

TO DR. D'AVENANT.

vii

I hope the Translation is faithful and exact; if there are any Mistakes, I desire the candid Reader to forgive them: I have inserted some historical Notes, to explain several Difficulties relating to the Laws and Customs of the Grecian People.

I am,

S I R,

Your most affectionate Friend,

and humble Servant,

W. MOYLE.



*A Table of the Attick Coins reduced
to the Value of English Money.*

l. s. d.

THE <i>Obolus</i> was equal	}	0	0	$1\frac{3}{4}$
to				
The <i>Triobolus</i> was three	}	0	0	$3\frac{3}{4}$
<i>Oboli</i> , and made				
The <i>Drachma</i> was six <i>Oboli</i> ,	}	0	0	$7\frac{1}{2}$
and made				
The <i>Mina</i> was an hundred	}	3	2	6
<i>Drachmas</i> and made				
The common <i>Attick</i> Talent	}	187	10	0
consisted of 60 <i>Minae</i> , which				
amounts in our Money to				

These are the common *Attick* Coins, which are most frequently mentioned by their Writers, and which I have reduced to our *English* Money, to make way for the easier understanding of this Discourse.

A
DISCOURSE
UPON
Improving the Revenue
OF THE
State of ATHENS.

I ALWAYS held it for a certain *Maxim*, that Governments resembled their Governors, and that the Prosperity or Declension, the Vigour or Decay of all States, was derived from the Virtues and Vices, the Abilities or Weakness of their Rulers: But since it is generally alleged in vindication of the *Athenian* Ministry, that they understand the common Principles of Justice

as

as well as the rest of Mankind, but that they are compelled by the ^a *Necessities* of the *Common People* to oppress their ^b *Confederate* Cities with unreasonable Tributes and Taxes: I have attempted to examine whether this Apology is well grounded, and whether they are not capable by Native Riches, and Revenue of the State of *Athens*, to maintain the whole Body of our People, which is the justest and most honourable Provision can be thought of: For I imagine if such a Design could be

^a Διὰ τὴν ἑπὶ πλῆθους πωτίαν. The State of *Athens* was at a great Charge in maintaining the *Common People*. They were allowed three *Oboli* a Man for every Cause they judged; and this Pension was called the *Τριῶλον δικαστικόν*. *Lucian. in his accusato.* And some days many Thousands received this Pension.

The *Θεώρικον* was an Allowance of two *Oboli* a-piece, to pay for the Sight of publick shews. *Liba. in argu. Olyn. primæ.*

The *Ἑκαλησιώτικον* was an *Obolus* a-piece, paid them every time they assembled. *Jul. Poll. l. 6. c. 9.* And this Pension was afterwards increased to three *Oboli*. Besides, all maimed and disabled Citizens had a Pension of two *Oboli* a day. *Harpocra. in verbo αἰδνητοῖ.*

^b *Xenophon* says only περὶ τὰς πόλεις, but the Word *συμμαχίδας* is plainly understood, as appears from the Sequel of this Discourse, and *Xenophon's* Treatise of the Government of *Athens*. This Tax upon the *Confederates* was at first but 460 Talents, but it was afterwards advanced to 1300. *Plutarc. in Vitâ Aristidis.* This Tribute was so burdensome, that it provoked the *Confederates* to frequent Revolts.

compassed,

compassed, that the Wants of the People would be more effectually relieved, and the Jealousies and Suspicions of our Neighbours would be quieted.

Upon a general view of the whole Matter, it appeared to me that the *Athenian* Territory is capable of affording a mighty Income and Revenue, the Truth of which Assertion may be easily evinced by a brief Survey of the State and Nature of the Country.

The Fruits of the Earth, and native Products of our Soil, are a Proof of the temperature of our Climate, and the mildness of our Seasons; for we have Plants which bear in great abundance in our Country, which will never grow in others; and our Sea, as well as Land, abounds in all Things necessary for Life, or Luxury: Add to this, that all the Blessings which the Gods have made peculiar to the different Seasons of the Year, begin earlier, and end later with us, than in any Part of the World.

Besides the vast plenty we enjoy of perishable Goods, our Soil affords us some staple and permanent Commodities, such as our noble Quarries of Marble, out of
which

which are drawn the best Materials for the Building and Ornament of Temples, and for the Altars and Statues of the Gods, and which both the *Greeks* and barbarous Nations set a high Value upon.

And where the Soil is too barren to receive the common Improvements of Husbandry, it contains hidden Treasures, which will feed a much greater Number of Mouths than any arable Lands can do: For the Divine Bounty has bestowed upon us inexhaustible Mines of Silver, an Advantage which we enjoy above all our neighbouring Cities by Sea and Land, who never yet could discover one Vein of Silver Oar in all their Dominions.

We have Reason likewise to believe that *Athens* is seated in the Center of *Greece*, and the habitable World; for all Nations are incommoded with more intense Degrees of Heat or Cold in proportion to their (*Northern* or *Southern*) distance from us; and that we lie in the Heart of *Greece* is evident, for all Travellers, that pass by Sea or Land, from one Extremity of *Greece* to the other, must take *Athens* in their Way.

And tho' *Attica* is no Island, yet we have the same Benefit of trading with all Winds, for we are bounded on two Sides by the Sea, and by being joined to the Continent we have the Convenience of driving on an Inland Traffick.

Other Cities lie exposed to the Fury of barbarous Nations, but we are so far from having so ill a Neighbourhood, that the States which border immediately upon us, lie at a remote distance from them.

To all those Advantages which conspire to the Felicity and Greatness of our State, and which we owe to the happy Situation, and the native Wealth of our Country, a mighty Improvement might be made by the Institution of publick Laws, in favour of Strangers who establish themselves among us; for besides the general Benefits derived to all Cities from Numbers of People, our Strangers would be so far from living on the Publick, and receiving Pensions from the State as our own Citizens do, that they would maintain themselves, and be the Foundation of the noblest Branch
of

6 *A Discourse upon improving*

of our Revenue by the Payment of the ^c *Aliens Duties*.

An effectual Inducement to the Settlement of Foreigners among us might be established, by taking off all those publick Marks of Dishonour from them which are of no Service, nor Advantage to the State, and by excusing them from serving among our heavy armed Troops; for an Exemption from the Dangers of War, and from the Necessity of being absent from their Families, and ^d *Trades*, would be a very powerful Encouragement.

'Tis likewise the Interest of the Com-

^c *Μετοίκιον*, *Aliens Duties*. This was an annual Tribute paid by the Aliens, of twelve *Drachmas* for every Man, and six for every Woman. *Harpocra. in verbo μετοίκιον*. The number of the Aliens amounted generally to 10000. Originally at *Athens* there was no distinction between Strangers and Natives, for all Foreigners were naturalized promiscuously. *Thucyd. l. 1. c. 2*. Thus all the *Platæans* were naturalized at once. *Thucyd. l. 3. c. 55*. And this Custom was the Foundation of their future Greatness. But as the City grew more populous, they grew more sparing of this Favour. *Scholi. Thucyd. l. 1. c. 2*. and this Privilege was given to such only as had deserved it by some extraordinary Service to the State. *Demost. Oratio contra Neeram*.

^d *Τέχων* not *τίκτων*. The *Basil* Edition reads it right; for most part of the Mechanick and Handicraft Trades were carried on by the Aliens at *Athens*. *Xenoph. de Polit. Athen*.

mon-Wealth, rather to fight our Battles with our own Troops, than to keep up in our Armies, a mixture of *Lydians*, *Phrygians* and *Syrians*, and all kinds of barbarous Nations, out of whom the greatest Number of our *Aliens* are composed.

Besides the Advantage of avoiding the Confusion such a Mixture of Troops produces, it would be more for our Reputation Abroad, to trust the Fortune of our State to the Courage and Valour of our own Citizens, than in the Hands of Foreigners.

Besides all other proper Encouragement to Strangers, the Privilege of being ^e *inrolled* among our Horse, would more warmly unite them in our Interests, and prove a solid Foundation of Strength and Greatness to the State.

It would be likewise a strong Inducement to greater Numbers of considerable Strangers to plant among us, if we gave

^e Τοῦ ἱππικῆς. *Xenophon* explains this Passage in his *Hipparchicus*, where he advises the State to inroll *Aliens* among their Horse. Besides the Dignity of the Horse-Service, there was a considerable Pay in Peace and War allowed them. *Ulpianus in Timocrateam. Xenoph. in Hippar.*

the

the ^f *waste Ground* within our Walls to be built on by such of them as deserved and desired it of the Publick.

The Institution of a new ^g Magistracy, like the ^h publick Guardians of our Orphans, for the Protection and Security of Strangers, with Rewards of Honours and Dignities to those, who by their Care and Industry, procured the most numerous Settlements of Foreigners among us, would gain the Affections of the *Aliens*, and have a very happy Effect, in drawing a vast concourse of [†] Exiles and Strangers to live under the Protection of our Government, and augment our publick Revenue.

That of all Cities, *Athens* lies the fairest for inviting an extended Commerce, is evident from the convenience of our Stations and Harbours, where Ships can ride secure in all Weather. And whereas in other trading Cities, Merchants are forced to bar-

^f See *Thucydides's* History of the *Peloponnesian War*. Book 2. Chap. 17.

^g *Μετοικοφύλακες*. Every *Alien* by the Laws of *Athens*, was obliged to chuse a private Patron among the Citizens. *Harpocraton. in verbo ὡρεσάτης*, but here *Xenophon* proposes publick Patrons for the whole Body of the *Aliens*.

^h *Ὀρφανοφύλακες*. Vide *Demosthen. contra Macartatum*.

[†] *Ἀπὸλιδες*. Men whose Cities have been destroyed.

ter one Commodity for another, in regard their Coin is not current abroad, we abound not only in Manufactures, and Products of our own Growth, sufficient to answer the Demands of all Foreign Traders, but in case they refused to export our Goods, in return for their own, they may trade with us to Advantage, by receiving Silver in exchange for them ⁱ, which transported to any other Market, would pass for more than they took it for at *Athens*.

It would be a great Encouragement to Commerce, if Prizes, and Rewards were allotted to such ^k Judges of the Court-Merchant, as made the quickest and justest Determination of all Causes relating to Trade, that the Merchant might not lose the

ⁱ Πανταχοῦ πλεονεξία τοῦ ἀρχαίου Λαμψάκου. The meaning of *Xenophon* is that the *Athenian* Money was more valuable abroad than the Coin of any other Nation, because it was of finer Silver. For it is impossible that an Ounce of *Athenian* Silver should be worth more in Specie than an Ounce of other Silver of the same fineness. *Sensus moreſque repugnant, atque ipſa utilitas.*

^k Τοῦ ἱμνοδείου ἀρχῆ. This Court of Judicature was probably the ſame with the *μυροδίκαι*, mentioned by *Suidas* and *Hefſychius*, in verbo *μυροδίκαι*.

Benefit of his Market by an attendance upon the Courts of Justice.

It would be likewise for the Honour and Advantage of the Publick, to give the first Rank¹ and Precedence in all publick Places to Foreign Sea-men, and Merchants, and to invite to the publick Feasts of the City, such of them as by their Ships, or Commodities do service to the State; for this Distinction of Honour as well as the Consideration of their own Profit, would invite them to make quick Returns from their Voyages to so friendly a Government.

And it is manifest beyond all Contradiction, that our Trade and Commerce would be extended, our Exportations and Importations increased, and the standing Income and Revenue of the State improved, in proportion to the Number of Foreign Sea-men, and Merchants of all kinds that establish themselves among us.

¹ Προεδρῆαις τιμῶν. This was a right of Precedence in the Theatres, Senate, Assemblies of the People, and in all publick places whatsoever. *Schol. Aristoph. in Equ.* This Custom was practised by the *Spartans*, who gave this Privilege to the *Deceleans*. *Herodotus lib. 9. c. 72.*

To the Improvement of these Articles, of our Revenue, nothing more is required than a generous Lenity and Indulgence in our publick Laws, and an universal Encouragement and Protection to Strangers. But the Improvements that may be added by other Methods to advance our standing Income, will of Necessity require a Settlement of some Publick ^m Fund.

And I have good Grounds to believe that the People will make large Contributions in favour of such a publick Undertaking, when I consider what Sums they advanced when we sent Succours to the *Arcadians* under the Command of *Lysistratus*, and likewise of ⁿ *Hegefilaus*.

How often have we set out Squadrons of Gallies by extraordinary Subsidies, without any certain Prospect of Advantage to the State? but this we were all sure of, that no particular Contributor would ever be

^m Ἄφορμὴ, a Fund. *Harpoc.* *Hesychius*, in verbo ἄφορμή.

ⁿ *Hegefilaus* commanded the *Athenian* Troops sent to the Assistance of the *Mantineans* at the Battle of *Mantineæ*; which is a Proof that this Discourse was writ after that Battle. *Diog. Laer. in Xenoph.* *Diodorus Siculus* by Mistake calls him *Hegelochus*.

repaid the whole, or any part of his Money.

But in the present Case no Man can possess a more Honourable, or Advantageous Revenue, than what he will receive in Recompence for his Contribution to this publick Fund: For a Contributor of Ten *Mineæ*, will receive a ° *Triobolon* a Day from the

° *Τριόβολον*. *Salmasius* de modo *Usurarum* thinks that this was the *τριόβολον δικάσιμον* which the People received for judging Causes. But *Xenophon's* Computation plainly confutes this Opinion: He says that a Contributor of 10 *Mineæ*, or 1000 *Drachmas*, at the rate of a *Triobolus* or half a *Drachma* a Day, will in a Year's time receive almost the fifth part of the principal Money he advanced. Which is very true, for reckoning (as *Xenophon* always does in this Discourse) 360 Days to the Year, the Payment of a *Triobolus* a day will amount to 180 *Drachmæ*, which is near the fifth part of 1000 *Drachmæ*. But the payment of the *τριόβολον δικάσιμον* could never amount to this Sum, because the Holydays, by the Confession of *Salmasius*, took up two Months in the Year, and on these Days the People never heard Causes, so that 30 *Drachmas* must be deducted from 180, which reduces the Sum to 150, which is little more than the seventh part of 1000. So that *Salmasius* is mistaken, or *Xenophon* was a very loose Calculator. The true meaning of the Passage I take to be thus: *Xenophon* in the following part of this Discourse, in order to make Provision for the Citizens, makes a Proposal to the State, to buy as many Slaves as would treble the Number of their own Citizens, which Slaves were to be let out at the rate of an *Obolus* a Day to the Adventurers in the Mines, which brought in a Revenue of three *Oboli* a Day to every Citizen, because the Slaves were thrice as many as the Citizens among whom this Revenue was to be divided.

And

the State, which in a Year's time, amounts to near 20 *per Cent.* this is a running Income as high as the Produce of *Nautick* Interest: And a Contributor of five *Mine*, will at the Year's End receive more than a $\frac{1}{3}$ third Part of the Capital Sum he advanced: As for the Body of the People, if they pay in, one *Mina* a Piece, they will

And this I take to be the *Triobolus* mentioned by *Xenophon*, which every Citizen was to receive in recompence for his Contribution.

^p It was the highest Interest, and is here opposed to Land-Interest, which was considerably less. For in the former the Creditor run a greater Hazard; for if the Merchant who borrowed the Money, employed it in Trade, lost his Ship, the Creditor lost his Money, and had no right to demand it of the Merchant; a Trade somewhat like our Bottomry. This Interest generally amounted to 20 *per Cent.* or the fifth part of the Principal *per annum.* It is true, it often varied, and was higher or lower according to the Plenty and Scarcity of Money, or the Danger and Distance of the Voyage. But the general *Medium* may be safely established at 20 *per Cent.* There are several Contracts of Money lent upon *Nautick* Interest, extant in the Orations of *Demosth.* contra *Lacrit. pro Phormi.* contra *Pant.* contra *Phormi.*

^q Πλίσιον ἢ τριερίον. More than a third part of the principal Money: For a *Triobolus* a Day in a Year makes 180 *Drachmae*, which is above the third part of five *Mine* or 500 *Drachmae*. The τριερίον was the highest *Nautick* Interest, and came to above 33 *per Cent.* There is an Instance which comes very near this Computation, in the Oration of *Demosthenes* contra *Phormi.*

in a Year's time very near ^a double their Principal Money, and be paid in the City, without any hazard, or Contingency, upon the publick Faith, which is the most certain, and most lasting Profit.

I am of Opinion likewise, that private Strangers, and ^a foreign Cities, Kings, and Governours, if they had the Honour of being registered to Posterity in our publick Monuments and Records, as Benefactors to the State, would mutually vie in emulation who should contribute most largely to the carrying on so generous a Design.

The necessary Funds being advanced, it would be for the Honour and Interest of the State, to build a greater Number of publick Inns, and Houses of Entertainment in our Ports, for the use of Sea-men, in

^a 180 *Drachmae* is almost double one *Mina*, or 100 *Drachmae*.

^a *Foreign Cities, &c.* Foreign States often contributed to the Publick Buildings of the *Greeks*. The *Rhodians* when their *Colossus* was overturned by an Earthquake, received Contributions from all the neighbouring States in order to restore it, *Polybius, lib. 5.* And there are many Inscriptions of such publick Benefactors extant in *Gruter*, and elsewhere.

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the trading Parts of the City for Merchants, and in general for the Reception of all Strangers whatsoever.

And if we build Shops, Ware-houses, and Exchanges for common Retailers, the Rents of the Houses would be a great Addition to our publick Revenues, and the magnificence of the Buildings would be an Ornament to the City.

As the Publick builds Gallies for War, so it might likewise be for the Advantage of the State to make a new Experiment, and build Merchant-Ships for Trade, which might be farmed out, like the other Branches of our Revenue, upon good Security; for if this Design was found practicable, it would prove a considerable Article in the Increase of our publick Income.

Our Silver Mines alone, if rightly managed, besides all the other Branches of our Revenue, would be an inestimable Treasure to the Publick. But for the Benefit of those who are unskilled in Inquiries of this Nature, I design to premise some general Considerations upon the true State and Value of our Silver-Mines, that the Publick, up-

on a right Information, may proceed to the taking such Measures and Councils, as may improve to the best Advantage.

No one ever pretended from Tradition, or the earliest Accounts of Time, to determine when these Mines first began to be wrought, which is a Proof of their Antiquity, and yet as ancient as they are, the Heaps of Rubbish which have been dug out of them, and lie above Ground, bear no Proportion with the vast Quantities which still remain below, nor does there appear any sensible Decay; or Diminution in our Mines, but as we dig on, we still discover fresh Veins of Silver-Oar in all Parts, and when we had most Labourers at work in the Mines, we found that we had still Business for more Hands than were employed.

Nor do I find that the Adventurers in the Mines retrench the Number of their Workmen, but purchase as many new Slaves as they can get; for their Gains are greater, or less, in Proportion to the Number of Hands they employ. And this is the only Profession I know of where the Undertakers are never envied, be their Stock or Profits ever so extraordinary, because their Gains
never

never interfere with those of their Fellow Traders.

Every Husbandman knows how many Yoak of Oxen and Servants are necessary to cultivate his Farm, and if he employs more than he has occasion for, reckons himself so much a Loser; but no Dealer in the Silver Mines ever thought he had Hands enow to set to work.

For there is this Difference between this, and all other Professions; that whereas in other Callings, for Instance, Braziers and Black-Smiths, when their Trades are overstocked, are undone, because the Price of their Commodities is lowered of course, by the multitude of Sellers; and likewise a good Year of Corn, and a plentiful Vintage, for the same Reason does hurt to the Farmers, and forces them to quit their Employments, and set up publick Houses, or turn Merchants and Bankers.

But here the Case is quite otherwise, for the more Oar is found, and the more Silver is wrought, and made, the more Adventurers come in, and the more Hands are employed in our Mines.

A Master of a Family indeed, when he is well provided with Furniture, and Household-Goods, buys no more, but no Man was ever so overstocked with Silver, as not to desire a farther Increase: if there are any who have more than their Occasions require, they hoard up the rest with as much Pleasure as if they actually made use of it.

And when a Nation is in a flourishing Condition, no one is at a loss how to employ his Money: The Men lay it out in fine Armour, in Horses, and in magnificent Houses and Buildings; Women lay it out in great Equipage, costly Habits, and rich Cloaths.

And in Accidents of War, when our Lands lie fallow, and uncultivated, or in a publick Dearth, and Scarcity, what Reserve have we left to apply to but Silver, to purchase Necessaries for our Subsistence, or hire Auxiliaries for our Defence?

If it be objected that Gold is as useful as Silver, I will not dispute it; but this I am sure of, that plenty of Gold always lowered its Value, and advanced the Price of Silver.

I have insisted the longer upon these general Reflections, to encourage Adventurers
of

of all kinds, to employ as many Hands as possible in so advantageous a Trade, from these plain Considerations, that the Mines can never be exhausted, nor can Silver ever lose its Value.

That the Publick has known this long before, is evident from our Laws, which allow Foreigners to work our Mines upon the same Terms and Conditions our own Citizens enjoy.

But to draw this Discourse more immediately to the Subject of my present Consideration, which is the Maintenance of our Citizens, I will begin to propose those

That the Mines can never be exhausted. It is plain from *Pausanias* that these Mines were not worked in his Time. *Paus. Attic.* But this does destroy the Assertion of *Xenophon*, for the plundering the Temple of *Delphi* brought out two Millions of our Money, which lay dead before; and the Conquest of *Persia* by the *Macedonians* brought such a vast quantity of Silver into *Greece*, and consequently made Labour so dear, that the Silver found in the Mines would in all probability scarce countervail the expences of the working them. Or it might proceed from the Subjection of *Athens* to a Foreign Power, or from other Accidents and not from any decay of the Mines.

¶ *Ἐπὶ ἰσοτιμίᾳ. Upon the same Terms, &c.* The State was the Proprietor of the Silver-Mines, and Strangers or *Athenians* that worked in them, were obliged to pay the same Tribute of the 24th Part of the Silver found, to the Publick. *Suidas* in ἀργάρε μεταλλῶν δίκην.

Ways

Ways and Means, by which the Silver Mines may be improved to the highest Benefit, and Advantage to the Publick. Nor do I set up for the Vanity of being admired for an Author of new Discoveries: For that Part of my following Discourse which relates to the Examples of the present Age, lies obvious to all the World; as for what is past it is Matter of Fact, and every Man might inform himself that would be at the Pains of inquiring.

It is very strange, that after so many Precedents of private Citizens of *Athens*, who have made their Fortunes by the Mines, the Publick should never think of following their Example: For we who have heard, that *Nicias*, the Son of *Niceratus*, had a thousand Slaves employed in the Mines, whom he let out to *Sofias* the *Thracian*, upon Condition to receive an *Obolus* a Day, clear of all Charges, for every Head, and that the same Complement of Workmen should be always kept on Foot.

In like manner *Hipponicus* had 600 Slaves let out at the same Rate, which yielded him a Revenue of a *Mina* a Day, and *Philemonides* 300, which brought him in half a
Mina

Mina a Day, and many others made the same Advantage, in proportion to the Number of Slaves they possessed. But what need we to appeal to Precedents of an elder Date, when at this Day we have so many Instances of the same Nature before our Eyes?

In the Proposals which I offer, there is only one thing new, namely, That as private Men have a constant Revenue coming in from the Slaves whom they let out to work in the Mines; so the Publick in imitation of their Example, should purchase as many Slaves to be employed in the same manner, as will treble the Number of their own Citizens.

Let any reasonable Man take this whole Proposal to pieces, and examin every distinct Head apart, and then judge whether the Design is feasible or not. It is plain the State can bear the Charge of the Price of the Slaves better than private Men. And nothing can be easier than for the Senate to make Proclamation for all that have Slaves to sell, to bring them in, and then buy them up for the publick Use.

And when they are bought, what should hinder any one from hiring them of the
State

State upon the same Terms they hire them from private Men? For we see that our Revenues are farmed by particular Men, and the repair, and the building of our publick Structures and Temples ^w are let out to private Undertakers.

And that the Publick may be no Loser by the Desertion of Slaves, or other Accidents, the Adventurers in the Mines, like the Farmers of our Revenue, should be obliged to give good Security to save the State harmless: Though at the same time the Common-Wealth may be much more easily cheated by the Farmers of their Revenue, than by the Hirers of their Slaves.

For how is it possible to discover the Frauds that are committed in the Management of the Publick Money? there being no visible Distinction between publick and private Money; the same Materials and Stamp being common to both. But when

^w *The repair of our Temple, &c. Μισδοῦνται ἱερὰ. It was the Custom of the Greeks to let out the building and repair of their Temples to private Undertakers. Athenæus l. 6. Herod. l. 5. c. 62. where he makes use of the same Word, μισδοῦνται; That is, They hired the building of the Temple upon such Terms. And the Latines used the Word conducunt in the same Sense. Conducunt foricas, i. e. Repurgandas. Juvenal. Sat. 3.*
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our Slaves are burnt with the publick Mark of the State, with severe Penalties to be inflicted upon all that buy, or sell them; what Danger is there of their being stole? Thus much of my Proposal as relates to the buying and preserving our Slaves, appears practicable beyond all Contradiction.

If any one questions whether after we have purchased a great Number of Workmen, there will be Adventurers enow to hire them of the Publick, let him consider, that the Undertakers who have a good Stock of Slaves will hire more of the State; for the Mines are so great, that they will require a vast Number of Hands to work them; and many of the Workmen that are grown old and unserviceable, and many others, *Athenians*, and Strangers whose Bodies are not vigorous enough for Labour, yet would be willing to get their Living by easier Callings, would turn Adventurers in the Mines, and hire our Slaves; so that there is little danger of wanting Employment for our Workmen.

Twelve hundred Slaves, when bought, will probably in five or six Year's time, produce a Revenue sufficient to purchase as
many

many more as will make the Number 6000. This Number at the rate of an *Obolus* a Day a Head, clear of all Charges, will afford a yearly Revenue of * sixty Talents.

And if but twenty of these Talents are laid out in the Purchase of more Slaves, the City may employ the overplus as they think convenient; and when the Number of Slaves is increased to 10000, it will produce a standing Revenue to the Publick, of a hundred Talents a Year.

To demonstrate that the Mines would take up a greater Proportion of Slaves to work them, I appeal to the Authority of all these living Witnesses who remember, what Numbers of Workmen were employed in them before the taking of *Decelea*

* *Revenue of 60 Talents.* This Computation proves that *Xenophon* reckoned but 360 Days to the Year: For 6000 *Oboli*, multiplied by 360, make 2,160,000 *Oboli*; which Sum, divided by 600 (for 600 *Oboli* make a *Mina*) makes 3,600 *Minae*, which divided by 60 (for 60 *Minae* make a *Talent*) reduces the whole Sum to 60 *Talents*. And the following Computation of 100 *Talents* a Year, produced by 10000 *Oboli* a Day, answers exactly to the former.

† *The taking of Decelea, &c.* *Decelea* was taken and fortified by the *Lacedaemonians* in the 19th Year of the *Peloponnesian War*, and lying in the Heart of *Attica*, it gave opportunity to 20000 *Athenian* Slaves to desert to the Enemy. *Thucyd.* l. 7. c. 27.

by

by the *Lacedemonians*. And our Silver Mines that have been wrought for so many Ages, with such Numbers of Hands, and continue still so far from being drained, or exhausted, that we can discover no visible difference in their present State from the Accounts our Ancestors have delivered down to us, are undeniable Proofs of my Assertion.

And their present Condition is a good Argument that there never can be more Hands at work in the Mines than there is Employment for: For we dig on still without finding any Bottom or end of our Mines, or decay of the Silver-Oar.

And at this Day we may open new Mines as well as in former Ages, and no one can determin whether the new Mines may not prove more rich than the old ones.

If any one demands why our Miners are not so forward in pursuit of new Discoveries, as formerly; I answer, it is not long since that the Mines have begun to be wrought afresh, and the present Adventurers are not rich enough to run the Risk of such an Undertaking.

For if they discover a rich Mine their Fortunes are made, but if they fail, they lose all the Charges they have been at; and this Consideration chiefly has discouraged the Adventurers from trying so dangerous an Experiment.

But in Order to remedy this Difficulty, I have some ² Proposals to offer to the Publick. There are Ten Tribes at *Athens*, and to each of these I would have the Government assign an equal Proportion of their publick Slaves, to be employed in search of new Mines, and the Gains to be equally divided in common among all the Sharers in the Ten Tribes: For if the Mines were once settled upon this Establishment, and the whole Undertaking carried on by a National Stock, the Adventurers would run little Hazard; and if but one of the Ten Tribes succeeded in the Attempt, the whole Community would be Gainers; and if two, three, four, or half the Tribes had the same good

² *Xenophon* in his former Proposal would have 10000 Slaves let out at a certain Rate to the Adventurers in the Mines, but in this second Proposal he advises the State it self to adventure in search of Discoveries of new Mines, which Work was to be carried on by another set of Slaves, and not by the former 10000.

Fortune, the Profits would be proportionably greater; for it is a wild Supposition, and against the Experience of all Ages, to imagine that not One in Ten should succeed in such an Undertaking.

Companies of private Adventurers may carry on the same Trade in a Joint-Stock, nor is there any danger that they and the National Company will interfere one with another; but as Confederates are strengthened by their mutual Assistance to each other, so the more Adventurers of all kinds are employed in the Mines, so much larger will the Gains and Advantages be to all.

Thus have I briefly proposed some Considerations to the Publick, for establishing the Management of the National Revenue upon such an Institution, as shall make effectual Provision for the whole Body of our People.

Nor let any Man be discouraged from the Considerations of the vast Expence, which will be necessary for the perfecting so great a Work: For there is no Necessity that either the whole Design must be finished at once, or the Publick will receive

no Advantage from it; Quite the contrary, every Step we advance in our Way, the State will gain Ground; and by the gradual Progress we make in our publick Buildings in the rigging out our Trading-Vessels, or in the Purchase of our Slaves, the Commonwealth will be an immediate Gainer.

And it is certainly more for the Advantage of the Publick to parcel out the Design, and finish it by degrees: For when many Houses are building at once, they cost more, and are worse built: In like manner, if we purchase our Complement of Slaves all at once, we must pay more for them, and buy worse into the Bargain.

But if we proceed gradually according to our Abilities, we shall still have the same Advantage of continuing any right Methods we pitched upon in the Beginning, and shall be at liberty to correct the Oversights and Mistakes we made at our first setting out. And if we perfect some Parts of our Undertaking, and delay the Execution of the rest, the Revenue arising from part of our Design, which is finished, will be sufficient to answer the whole Expence of the Remainder. But if we resolve to execute the whole

whole Project at once, the whole Charge of the Enterprize must be raised at once likewise.

And then the great Difficulty which will be objected to this whole Scheme is, that in case the Publick purchase so great a Number of Slaves, the Mines may happen to be overstocked; but there can be no Grounds for such an Apprehension, if we take care every Year to employ no more than there is actually Occasion for.

Thus I think the easiest Methods of finishing this Design are the best, and most effectual. It may be objected that the immense Charges of this War have exhausted our Treasure in such a manner, that it will be impossible for the Publick to raise any new Subsidies, much less to advance the necessary Funds of such an Undertaking. But this Difficulty may be easily removed, for let the State employ no more Money in the Administration of the Government the next Year after we have a Peace, than the annual Income of the Publick produced during the War, and whatever additional Improvements of our Revenue are made by the Peace, from the Encouragement of

Strangers and Merchants, from the Increase of our Exportations and Importations, occasioned by the resort of more People, and from a greater Vent of Commodities in our Ports and Markets, let all that be appropriated to this particular Service, in order to advance the National Revenue.

If any one imagines that a War will ruin our whole Undertaking, let him but consider that the Execution of this Design will enable us to meet a Foreign Invasion, with so many Advantages on our side, that a War in such a Juncture will be less formidable to us, than to our Enemies themselves.

For what Advantage can better enable us to carry on a vigorous and successful War, than Numbers of Men? and by such an Addition to the Stock of our People, as might be made by due Care and Encouragement; what Levies might be raised, what mighty Fleets and Armies set out to disappoint all the Designs of our Enemies?

And I have Reason to believe that it is possible to work our Mines in the conjuncture of a foreign War, for they are covered on the South-Sea, by a strong Citadel in *Anaphlystus*, and on the North-Sea, by
another

another in *Thoricus*, and these two Fortresses lie at the distance of but 60 Furlongs from one another.

But if a third Fort was built upon the top of a Mountain, in the middle of the two former, the three Works would meet together, and other Silver Mines would be inclosed in a Circle, and guarded on all sides, and the Workmen at the first Notice of an Invasion might retire to a Place of Security.

But if we are invaded with more numerous Armies, our Enemies may make themselves Masters of our Corn, Wine, and Cattle that lie without the Works; but if they possess themselves of our Silver Mines, what can they find to carry off more than a heap of Stones and Rubbish?

But how is it possible for our Enemies to make an Inroad upon our Mines? For the City *Megara*, which lies nearest, is above 500 Furlongs from them; and *Thebes*, which is nearer than any but *Megara*, is more than 600 Furlongs distant from them.

If they advance to our Mines in a small Body from this side, they must leave *Athens* behind them, and run the hazard of being

cut off by our Horse, and flying Parties; and it is a wild Notion to imagine that they will invade us with their whole Force, and unguard their own Country, and leave it exposed to our Inroads; for in such a Case, *Athens* would be nearer to their Cities than their own Army.

But suppose they marched up to our Mines with a numerous Army, how could they subsist for want of Provisions? If they foraged in small Parties, they would be in danger of having their Convoys intercepted; if they foraged with their whole Armies, they must act upon the defensive, and we should be the Aggressors.

The Revenue arising from our Slaves would not only make a considerable Article in the Charge of maintaining our Citizens, but by the vast Concourse of People from all Parts, the Customs of the Fairs and Markets at the Mines, and the Rent of our Publick Buildings, and Melting-houses, and many other Heads would produce a mighty Income to the State.

The State upon such an Establishment would be peopled with a prodigious Number of Inhabitants, and the Value of Lands

at the Mines would be as high as those that lie near *Athens*.

A pursuit of such Measures and Counsels would not only enrich the City, but introduce a habit of Obedience in the People; reform their Discipline, and revive the Courage of the Nation.

For if upon this Improvement of our Revenue, a larger Allowance was established for the Maintenance of our Youth, they would be trained up to the Art of War in our ^a publick Academies with more Exactness, and perform their Military Exercises with a more regular Discipline, than the Racers in the ^b Torch-Course are taught to observe. And our Troops in Garison and the standing Guards of our Coasts, would do their Duty in their several Posts with more Cheerfulness, if any effectual Provision was settled for their Subsistence.

^a There were at *Athens*, and in other Parts of *Greece*, Military Academies or Gymnasia, where the young Men exercised. *Theophrastus de Blanditiâ Aristoph. & Schol. in Equi. Xenoph. in 1, 2, 3, & 6th lib. de rebus Græc.*

^b Ἐν ταῖς λαμπάσι. *Torch-Course*. There was a Festival at *Athens*, on which a certain Number of Men ran with lighted Torches in their Hands. *Paus. Attic.* To this Ceremony *Lucretius* makes that fine Allusion in his 2d Book,

Et quasi Cursores vitævi lampada tradunt.

If it be made appear that the Revenue of *Athens* can never be improved, or advanced to the full height without a Peace, it may deserve the publick Inquiry, whether the Establishment of a ^c Council of Peace would not be for the Benefit and Advantage of the State.

For the Institution of such a Magistracy would invite more numerous Settlements of Foreigners to make *Athens* the Place of their Abode.

For it is an absurd Supposition to imagine, that Peace will weaken our Strength, and ruin our Authority and Reputation abroad; for of all Governments, those are happiest who have continued longest without War, and of all Common-wealths, *Athens* lies fairest for flourishing and increasing by the Arts of Peace.

For *Athens* in time of Peace is the great Theatre to which all Mankind have Occasion to resort: To begin with Merchants and Commanders of Ships, Where

^c *Ειρηφύλαξι.* Council of Peace. This new Magistracy which *Xenophon* proposes to be instituted for the Preservation of the Publick Peace, was to be, in all probability, like the *ειρηφύλαξι* or *Faciales* of the *Romans*, who were instituted by *Numa* for the same Considerations. *Dion. Halicarn.* lib. 2.

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can the Traders in Wine, Oyl, Corn, or Cattle have a quicker Vent, or a better Market for their Commodities than at *Athens*? Where can monied Men make a better Improvement of their Wealth; and, where is there greater Encouragement for those who live by Arts of Invention and Ingenuity?

Where is there better Employment for Artificers and Mechanick Trades? Where can the Sophists, Philosophers, Poets, and the Lovers of the Liberal Arts, resort to a more renowned School of Learning and Humanity? Where is there a nobler Scene to gratifie the Curiosity of all Strangers that are delighted with Divine Rites and Institutions, and the Celebrations of Religious Games and Festivals? And where can Merchants of all kinds whatsoever find a better Market to make quick Returns of their Money, than *Athens*?

If my Opposers acknowledge all this to be true, but still imagine that we can never recover the Dominion of *Greece* but by a War, I desire them to look back to the *Persian* Invasion, and examine, whether it was by Force of Arms, or our good Offices

to the *Greeks*, that we were placed at the Head of the ^d Naval Confederacy, and the common Treasury of *Greece*?

And when by a tyrannical Exercise of our Power we lost our Jurisdiction, by an Alteration of our Measures, and a milder Administration, ^e we were restored to our ancient Authority by the joint Consent of all the Islands.

Did not the *Thebans* in Acknowledgment of our generous Assistance to their State, place us at the Head of the common ^f Alliance? and our Rivals, the *Lacedemonians*, for the same Consideration, quitted their old Pretensions, and suffered us to give Laws to the ^g last Treaty, and

^d ἑλληνοταμίαις. After the *Persian* Invasion the *Athenians* had the Command of the Confederate Fleet, and were made Treasurers of the Money contributed by the *Greeks* to the carrying on the War against *Persia*. *Thucydides*, lib. 1.

^e The *Athenians* recovered the Command of the *Greek* Islands, (which they lost in the *Peloponnesian* War,) in the 4th Year of the 100th *Olymp.* *Diod. Sicul.* lib. 15.

^f This Alliance between the *Thebans* and *Athenians* was made in the second Year of the 96th *Olympiad.* *Diod. Siculus*, lib. 14. *Xenophon*. lib. 3. *de rebus Græc.*

^g This League between the *Spartans* and *Athenians* was made in the 4th Year of the 102d *Olympiad*, not long after the Battle of *Leuctra*. *Diod. Sic.* l. 15. *Xenop.* l. 7. *de rebus Græc.*

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dispose of the supream Command of *Greece* at our own Discretion.

And at this Juncture, in the general Confusion of *Greece*, we have the most favourable Opportunity of recovering our ancient Dominion without Difficulty, Hazard, or Expence, that ever any Nation had: For if we set up to be the common Mediators of *Greece*, and interposed our Authority to unite all the divided Interests abroad, and reconcile all the Factions at home; and if by solemn Embassies to all the neighbouring States we declared for the *Liberty* of ^a *Delphi*, all *Greece* would support us at the Head of so glorious a Cause, and unite in a gene-

^a The *Greeks* made it a part of their Religion, to preserve the *Liberty* of *Delphi*. Thus the *Lacedaemonians* entered into a War to restore the Oracle to the *Delphians*, *Thucyd.* lib. 1. c. 112. And the first Article of their Leagues often began with a mutual Engagement on both Parts, to protect the *Liberty* of *Delphi*, *Thucyd.* l. 4. c. 118. l. 5. c. 18. Besides their Religion, they had Reasons of State for this proceeding: For if *Delphi* were subject to a foreign Power, the Priestess might be forced to utter whatever Oracles the Conqueror pleased to impose: Nor could the Resolutions and Sentences of the *Amphictyons*, who often sate at *Delphi*, be free and unbiaised so long as *Delphi* was under a Foreign Dominion.

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ral Confederacy against common Enemies, who endeavoured to make themselves Masters of *Delphi*, when the *Phocians* were reduced to Extremity.

And if we afterwards warmly interested our selves to establish a general Peace by Sea and Land; all *Greece*, next to the Security of their own Governments, would desire the Preservation of *Athens*.

If any Man can have so wild a Notion, as to imagine, that War will contribute more to the Increase of the Riches of the State than Peace, I know no better way to decide the Controversie, than by appealing to the Experience of former Ages, and producing Precedents to the contrary out of our own Story.

For upon inquiry he may find that the vast Treasure we had amassed in Peace, was all consumed in our former Wars; and to quote Instances of a fresher Date, in the present War all the Branches of our Income have been deficient, and what Money came in upon the publick Funds, has been all applied to the pressing Occasions of the State; but since the Seas have been open, and our Trade free, every Article of our Income is
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advanced, and the Government is at liberty to employ it as they think convenient.

Not that I would advise the Commonwealth to sit down tamely by their Injuries in case of a foreign Invasion; but this I am sure of, that we should be better enabled to revenge the Affront, if we are not the Aggressors, for our Enemies will never be able to form a Confederacy to support them in an unjust War.

Upon the whole Matter, if nothing in this Proposal appears impossible, or difficult, and if a pursuit of these Counsels and Resolutions will gain the Affections of *Greece*, and establish our Security at home, and increase our Reputation abroad: If the common People will abound in all things necessary for Life, and the Rich be eased of their Taxes to the Wars: If in this universal Plenty our Temples will be rebuilt, and our religious Festivals and Solemnities celebrated with more Magnificence: If our Walls, Docks, and Arsenals will be repaired, and our Priests, Senate, Magistrates, and Cavalry, restored to their ancient Rights and Privileges, is it not fit that all Engines should be set at work to promote so glori-

ous an Undertaking, that in our Days we may see our Country established upon a solid Foundation of Security and Happiness?

And if the Publick, upon due Consideration, thinks fit to execute these Orders and Institutions, I would advise them to send Embassadors to *Delphi* and *Dodona* to consult the Gods, whether such a Reformation of our Government would not turn to the Advantage of the present Age, and the Benefit of all Posterity.

And if these Resolutions are ratified by the Divine Approbation, to consult the Oracle once more, to the protection of what Gods we should recommend the Success of this Enterprize, and then to propitiate those Gods we are directed to apply to, in order to engage their Assistance: and after this solemn Invocation to enter boldly upon the Execution of this Design: For it is but reason that all Undertakings should be attended with more favourable Success, that are begun, and carried on, under the immediate Care and Protection of the Divine Providence.

The End.

Mr. MOYLE's Observations.

IF we knew who the Enemies were that designed to seize upon *Delphi*, (as mentioned in the thirty eighth Page of the foregoing Discourse) it would be no difficult Matter to determine exactly the Time when it was written. *Jason*, the Tyrant of *Thessaly*, had formed a Design upon *Delphi*, but his Death prevented the Execution of it. *Diod. Sic. Xenop. Hist. Græc. Ælian. Frag.* But this Passage cannot be understood to mean this attempt, for *Jason* was assassinated in the third Year of the 102 *Olymp.* some Years before the Battle of *Mantineæ*, and this Discourse, as I have proved in a former Note, was written after that Battle. I think that this Passage (taking the Word *ἐκλειπόντων* in a neutral Sense as I have rendred it, and for which there are a thousand Authorities) ought to be understood of a Design the *Thebans* had formed upon *Delphi*. The Story

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in short is this: The *Thebans* being engaged in a War with the *Phocians*, upon some Dispute about a Frontier, formed a Design upon the Temple of *Delphi*. *Demost. de falsâ Legatione, Ulpianus*. And the *Phocians* at the same time being condemned by the *Amphiſtyons* to pay a great Fine for plowing up some Consecrated Land, the *Greeks* prepared to execute the Sentence by force of Arms. The *Phocians* being unable to resist such an approaching Storm, were reduced to great Extremities, and compelled for their own Preservation, to seize upon the Treasures of *Delphi*: This gave beginning to the Holy War, and all *Greece* engaged in the Quarrel. The *Athenians* assisted the *Phocians*, but *Xenophon* advises them to break off that Alliance, and declare for the Liberty of *Delphi*, and under that plausible Pretence, to unite all *Greece* against the *Thebans*, who were equally criminal with the *Phocians*, (as *Demosthenes* observes) for having formed the first Design upon the Temple. This Counsel he recommends to the *Athenians* as the best Method to recover the Dominion of *Greece*. I know it will be objected that *Diog. Laertius* places the

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the Death of *Xenophon* in the first Year of the 105th *Olympiad*, and the *Phocian War* breaking out some Years after, it will be impossible to explain this Passage in my Sense.

To this I answer, that this Account of *Laertius* is certainly false: For *Xenophon*, in his *Greek History*, mentions the Death of *Alexander* the Tyrant of *Pheræ*, which happened, as *Diodorus* observes, in the 4th Year of the 105th *Olymp.* so that *Xenophon* must be a Prophet, or be alive at that time, three Years after his supposed Death. *Xenophon* likewise in the conclusion of his *Greek History* affirms, that after the Battle of *Mantineæ*, *Greece* was in a greater Disorder and Confusion than ever. But we read of no considerable Commotion in *Greece* till the breaking out of the *Holy War*, in the 1st Year of the 106th *Olymp.* which engaged all *Greece* in an intestine Division.

To confirm this Account of *Laertius*, it may be urged, that *Xenophon* living 90 Years, according to *Lucian* in *Macrob.* and being present at the Battle of *Delium*, which was fought in the first Year of the 89th *Olympiad*, about 67 Years before the *Holy War*, it is highly improbable that he was
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living at the time of the *Holy War*. It is true, *Laertius* says, that *Socrates* saved *Xenophon's* Life at that Battle: But *Athenæus* l. 3. says, that *Socrates* was not at the Battle; and it is probable that the other part of the Story of *Xenophon's* being there, may be equally fabulous, especially if what *Athenæus* (according to *Casaubon's* Correction) says be true, that *Xenophon* was but a Boy at the Banquet of *Callias*, which was three Years afterwards. Besides he is called a *Young Man* in his Expedition into *Asia*; but at this rate he must have been 50 Years old at that time, an Age at which a Man cannot properly be called young.

But granting that he was present at the Battle of *Delium*, if we allow him to be 18 Years old, the Age, if I mistake not, that the *Athenians* usually made their first Campaign, he would be but 81 Years old on the first Year of the 103th *Olympiad*, and consequently might write of the *Holy War*, which broke out four Years afterwards. Nor does *Lucian* precisely limit his Age to 90 Years only, but says he lived above 90 Years.

Xenophon

Xenophon in this Discourse says, that the *Athenians* had been engaged in a War by Sea and Land; that the War by Sea was at an end, but the War by Land still continued. This exactly agrees with the *Bellum Sociale*, or the War of the *Athenians* against their revolted Islands, which was carried on by Sea, and begun in the third Year of the 105th *Olympiad*, and ended in the second Year of the 106th *Olympiad*, two Years after the breaking out of the *Holy War*, which the *Athenians* were then engaged in.

By this Account *Xenophon* writ this Discourse about the third Year of the 106th *Olympiad*, a Year after the Conclusion of the Peace with the Islands.

If the Account of *Xenophon's* Death in *Laertius* be true, I cannot believe this Work to be genuine; for I think it almost impossible to explain this Passage in any other sense. But the Authority of all the Writers who ascribe this Discourse to *Xenophon*, and the Conformity of the Style with the rest of his Works, and that Character of Piety which runs through the whole Piece, which is so peculiar to the Writings of *Xenophon*, and that particular Maxim at the

Conclusion of this Treatise, of *undertaking every thing under the Favour and Protection of the Gods*, which he inculcates in all his Works, and particularly at the end of his *ἰνὰ ἀρχὴν* Ⓞ, are undeniable Proofs that this Discourse is genuine.



AN
ESSAY

ON THE

Lacedæmonian Government.

ADDRESSED TO

Anthony Hammond, *Esq*;

In the Year 1698.

ESTABLISHED

ON THE

Antislavery Government

ADDRESSED TO

Anthony Hammond, Esq.

In the Year 1838

AN ESSAY ON THE

Lacedæmonian Government.

WE learn from *Herodotus*, that the *Lacedæmonian* Government, or Civil Politie, was reformed by *Lycurgus*, before whose time, it was such, that it did not answer the Ends of Government either with regard to foreign Affairs, or to their own domestick and private Welfare among one another : It appears from this, that it is not peculiar to Popish Tyrannies only, for Human Kind to suffer the greatest Indignities and Cruelties under a notion and pretence of Government, as, you know, *Fletcher* * loves to maintain. “ This wise

* An eminent Scots Gentleman of *Salton*.

“ Law.

“^b Lawgiver made such Checks in the executive part of the Government, that in the Administration they reciprocally controuled each other.

The *Lacedæmonian* Government was the same with that of *Crete*, and the Basis of each was settled upon this Maxim, *that Liberty is the chiefest good of Civil Society*, because it is That which makes every thing else we possess, our own. But without this Liberty, all Property centers in those who govern, and not in them who are governed^c.

It is obvious that this valuable Liberty cannot be preserved without sufficient security from Laws, which may create such a Temperament in the Constitution of the Government, that a due Ballance in Property, Power and Dominion is formed by it. From hence it is, that the Common wealth of *Sparta* has been very rightly defined to be a Government of Laws, and not of Men; and what can reasonable Creatures wish for, but to live under an Empire of Laws?

^b See, *Herodotus*, Clio.

^c See, *Strabon*, Geograph. Lib. x.

From *modern Politicks* we have been taught the Name of the *Ballance of Power*, but it was *ancient Prudence* taught us the Thing.

To search to the Bottom into the Nature of this Government, (the Subject of our present Consideration,) we must remember that *Lycurgus* when he first began to give a new Model to the Common-wealth, found the greatest Part of the People to be wretchedly and desperately poor, and some few excessively rich; his Intention and Design was to banish on the one Side, Envy, Fraud and Violence; and on the other, Insolence, Luxury and Oppression; and together with these, Riches and Poverty, each of them, when in Extreame, Diseases dangerous to the Tranquillity of a Commonwealth; upon this he persuaded them to come into a new and equal Division of Lands, and that for the time to come none should aim at Priority and Precedency in any thing, but in private and publick Merit; that all should live upon equal Terms with one another, declaring there ought to be no difference between Man and Man, but what arises

arises from the just Praise of Virtue, and a necessary Reproach of Vice.

After he had gained this important Point, we are told that as he passed through the Country in the Harvest Season, and seeing the Shocks of Corn all of a Size; he smiled and said, the Country looked as if it belonged to Brothers, who had newly parted their Inheritance. Thus the Crimes which are perpetually committed out of the Love of Money, did of themselves soon cease. But this *Golden Age* at *Sparta*, when Gold itself was of little Worth or Esteem, declined; for so early as in the Time of *Cresus*, (the *Lewis le Grand* of that Age,) the *Lacedæmonians* began to cast amorous Glances upon the beauteous Metal, and being corrupted by him, they connived at the Slavery he brought upon the *Græcian* Republicks in *Asia*, and by that means they lost their Barrier; for the Liberty of a Government is as nice as the Chastity of a Woman: You know, dear *Hammond*, that if the Fair One gives up the Outworks, the Citadel is not long maintained. Some time after the equal Distribution of Lands (the *Agrarian* Law,) was shaken, though

* The XIVth.

this was judged to be the immoveable Basis of the Common-wealth. Then Covetousness entered, and after that a strong Tendency to Ease and Pleasures, which soon overcame the sober and masculine Temper of their first Institution, instead of that private Integrity of Mind, and that publick Probitiy of Manners towards their Friends and Neighbours which accompanied their original State; Pride, Avarice and Injustice, supported by Riches and Power, advanced in Triumph; and a Government that grows effeminate and weak at home, will soon become despicable and odious abroad; and as it declines from Virtue, will sink in Glory, and fall to Ruin.

Thus you see, as a good Author expresses it; *Eadem Fabula semper in Mundo agitur, mutatis duntaxat Personis*; which agrees with what *Thucydides* says in his third Book, *Eadem accidere, donec eadem Hominum Natura.* *Justin* in his Epitome of *Trogus Pompeius*, though an Author defective in Chronology, and taken singly, not entirely to be depended upon, yet he is very useful for ancient History; and particularly in what he says of the *Lacedæmonian Government*,
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in his third Book; I refer you to him not being willing to transcribe the whole, though he gives Hints sufficient there, to form an Idea of that *Republick*. It was considered that the Body of a People shew no Avarice, but in desiring to be equally taxed, nor no Ambition, but to be quiet and happy under a just and well-poised Government. And it appears This was such, for its Administration was lodged in the different Estates that composed the whole; the Kings had the Executive Power in War, the Courts of Justice were in the Hands of the Magistrates by a Rotation of annual Successions; in the Senate was lodged the Legislature, to the People belonged the Choice of the Senators, and the Power of removing Officers. Thus the Perfection of Government was aimed at in those early Times; it was judged to consist in governing so, as Men might seem to determine themselves freely, while they were guided by the Laws, and the Subject had just Grounds to believe that his own Advantage and Profit consisted in Obedience; but to speak my Thoughts, the Nature and State of Man reacheth not to the ideal Perfection of Government; Men can

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no more judge of their own Good than Children, some are too dull, and some too negligent; a Trust is necessary, from hence arises Government, but still the Imperfections and Weakness of Human Nature must go along with it.

However absolute Slavery is an unjustifiable Usurpation upon Nature, and I cannot conceive how absolute Governments exercised tyrannically can think their suffering Subjects are under an Obligation of Obedience, because such servile Subjection implies a Man's renouncing his Reason, which amounts to a Renunciation of Human Nature it self.

From the *Lacedæmonian* Government *Harrington* formed his Definition, which is the Basis of his *Oceana*. "An equal Commonwealth, says that excellent Author, is "a Government established upon an equal "Agrarian, arising into the Superstructures, "or three Orders, the Senate debating and "proposing, the People resolving, and the "Magistracy executing by an equal Rotation through the Suffrage of the People "given by the Ballot &c.

^a *Harrington's Oceana*, p. 55.

How nearly this is drawn from *Lycurgus's* Institution you may read with Pleasure in his Life writ by *Plutarch*, and his Laws were kept in *Sparta* almost seven Hundred Years, and during that great length of time the Common-wealth flourished in all possible Prosperity; he began with the forming of Youth, and in them their Course of Life was so strict and austere, that War, when it was just and necessary, seemed natural to them. *Diogenes* said, when he returned from *Lacedæmon* to *Athens*, that he came from Men to Women; their Discipline was such both in War and Peace, that it made their City feared as well as honoured by all their Neighbours. They were esteemed the chief among all the *Grecians*, and had a directive Power over all the rest. Sovereignty and Liberty were consistent with each Person, and no way prejudicial to one another; their Kings, tho' of the race of *Hercules*, were not uneasy in having their Power limited, and the Legislature kept within their Bounds. You may observe in every Government, that when the executive Power is transferred to the Legislative, there is no Controul, nor can there be any Check upon them; the People

ple in such a case must suffer without redress they have no Resource; because they are oppressed by their own Representatives. The *Ephori*; or *Tribunes* of the People, whose Authority in many respects was above the *King's*, made the Government seem a *Democracy*; the Decrees of the Senate, (in whom the Legislature rested,) were uncontrollable; in this it resembled an *Aristocracy*, and the *regal Power*, which like the Soul did animate the whole, shewed something Monarchical in it. He had Power to do Good, but none to do Harm. The Consideration of this Government was of equal use to *Sidney* as well as *Harrington*; the former has I think been longer in confuting Sir *Robert Filmer's* Patriarchal Hypothesis, than it deserved, which makes that part of his Work seem tedious; but his Notions of Government are generally right, and expressed with a Force, and Spirit, beyond what is commonly to be met with. One thing is very well worth your Notice in this Author, and that is, the admirable use he makes of History, through the whole Course of his Book. Historical Reflections are finely interwoven in all his Discourses. Such a use of History seems

to be wanting in many Authors, who treat of Politicks. It is objected against *Sidney*, that he makes the Grounds and Obligation of Subjection and Obedience to Government too precarious and loose; but this Objection seems to be taken from some incorrect Expressions, which have fallen from his Pen, and do not arise from the regular Hypothesis he advances; and it must be considered, that this Work never had his last Hand. If you look into *Sidney*, I would advise you to read first the answer that has been made to *Filmer* by Mr. *Locke*, and his *Essay of the Original, Extent and End of Civil Government*; that piece contains the first Rudiments upon this Subject. I know a Gentleman, who calls it the A. B. C. of *Politicks*. But I might spare giving these Notices to you, who are an Adept in the Science. But to return to *Lycurgus*; when the regal Authority was put down at *Lacedæmon* he established a Senate of twenty eight Men, to whom he joined two Kings Descendants of *Hercules*, as was hinted above, besides the *Fundamental Institutions* he left them. This Senate was to make Laws, Decrees and Orders for the governing of the Commonwealth.

wealth. But these Laws were to have their Ratification from the People, who frequently refusing to confirm the Decrees of the Senate, the Government was sometimes reduced to Difficulties; so about one hundred and thirty Years after *Lycurgus*, *Theopompus* and *Polidorus*, at that time the Kings of *Sparta*, transferred the Power of making Laws on the Senate: The People were soothed into the permitting of this by the Pretence of an *Oracle's* commanding it; as a farther compensation, and to screen them from the Tyranny that they might be liable to, either from the *Kings*, or the *Senate*, the *Ephori* were set up; and it is from the setting up of these high Magistrates that the four hundred Years of the Duration of that Republick is computed by *Thucydides*. The nearer you inspect and take a view of the *Lacedæmonian* Common-wealth, you will find, as I formerly hinted, the true Constitution of the Government to consist in this; that it contained in its Formation a proper Distribution of Power into several Branches, in the whole composing as it were one great Machine, and each grand Branch was a Check upon the other; so that not one of them

could exceed its just Bounds, but was kept within the Sphere in which it was circumscribed by the Original Frame. From the Laws of eternal Reason, it is evident, that Number, Weight and Measure goes through the civil, as well as the natural World; and as all Things were at first created, so are they still governed by Rules necessarily resulting and flowing from thence: From this Reason and Necessity (the Words are equivalent, and of the same Signification in the Language of the Schools) arises the Truth of that Political Maxim, which you tell me Mr. *Harley*^a often repeats; *Res nolunt administrari diu*: That is, a Government cannot subsist long under an *ill* Administration. Observe that the Weight of the Proposition rests upon this, that ill Management, Confusion, and Disorder cannot long subsist. Physicians say, that *acute Diseases* either *cure* themselves, or *kill*; so the Constitution of a Government either recovers its original State from under a wrong Administration, or it dies; that is, changes its form, and is renewed under another, for Human Societies can never cease and break up entirely. Even in Civil War, (the great Reproach and Ble-

^a The late Earl of *Oxford*.

with of human Prudence, or rather of human Nature) each side maintains a just Government among themselves, however monstrous and barbarous they are to the adverse Party. It is an agreeable Thought to consider how many Millions of People lived happily and dyed quietly under the *Spartan* Government in a Succession of seven hundred Years. I do not regard the Severities of the Discipline, with which their Youth was educated: It is the weak and only Censure with which the corrupt Advocates of *Absolute Monarchy* could ever asperse that Republick. These Men do not fairly consider, that the Severity they complain of, was amply recompensed by the true and substantial Nourishment it gave to the Seeds of innate Virtue among them; and afterwards it was still more amply recompensed by the Respect and Veneration that was paid to those Youths, when they became Old Men. The private Virtue, which that rigid Education instilled, gave a Strength to their publick Government; and it was that Strength enabled the Common-wealth upon extraordinary Emergencies to right her self soon, if I may use a Sea Phrase, when *Storms* had brought

brought her to lye almost a long side. Such a Vigour we have once seen in *England* upon the late happy *Revolution*; and I wish from my Soul, that *England* may never want a like *Vigour* upon a like *Occasion*!

In *Lacedæmon* the distinct Function and different Power of each Branch of the Government was well known, and therefore it was as well known among them, when an Encroachment and Invasion was made by the *one*, upon the inherent Rights and inseparable Privileges of the *other*. I should be glad we could say the same Thing of our own Government here in *England*; but the Boundaries and Limits of *Prerogative* and *Liberty* are not yet so well stated with us. To speak with Freedom, and I hope without Offence to the learned and pious Body you represent, ^bI must tell you plainly, that the *Clergy* have for a great number of Years contributed chiefly to perplex the Notions and muddle the Brains of the *People* about our *English Constitution*: However I do as freely own they did their Duty very well just upon the *Revolution*; and what-

^b *Anthony Hammond Esq;* was Representative for the University of Cambridge.

ever their *Theories* were, they did at that Crisis act rightly *per Viam Facti*, as the Civilians term it. To reconcile their Practice then to their speculative Maxims before and since, their Proceedings as freeborn Subjects to the *Jura Sanguinis* and the *Indefeasible Rights*; that is their Business, as Sir Robert Marsham used to say. But since I have touched upon this point, spare me a Word; I am, Dear *Hammond*, on the side of *Liberty*, I have traced this matter to its Source, and it may be perhaps of use to you at the *Rose* or the *three Tuns*^c. It may be observed, that Arguments supported with the strongest Reasons, and most convincing and cogent to us of the *Laitie*, have not the same Efficacy and Weight with the *Clergy*; they still oppose us, and contradict us even in Matters which we take to be the common and undoubted Rights belonging jointly and mutually to the *Parson* as well as to the *Parishianer*. How is it possible, that Men of great Learning, Piety, and Reason should not have the same Care of their own and our Rights as we have, and the same

^c Taverns used by a select Number of Members of of Parliament.

Conviction of what our Rights are, as we our selves have, upon clear Reason in plain terms offered to them. It certainly can arise only from hence, we must necessarily differ in Principles, and then it is not difficult to apprehend, that what is clear Sense to Men of my Principle, may not affect the Judgment, nor guide the Consciences of very good Men of a different Principle from me. My Principle is that the *King* is *King* by the Fundamental Law of the Land, and by the same Law, and no other, the meanest Subject enjoys the *Liberty* of his *Person* and *Property* in his *Estate*, and it is every Man's concern to defend this to his utmost, as well as the *King* in his lawful Rights and Prerogatives.

It is also my Principle that the House of Lords and Commons are an essential part of the Government, and established by Laws of equal Force and Validity with those by which regal Power is settled among us. According to this Principle every honest Man that holds it must endeavour with equal Care and Courage to preserve the Frame of our Government in all Parts and Branches of it, and cannot in Conscience give up the one

to the other. He that from any indirect Motive, or from a Love of Ease shall depart from endeavouring this, will soon lose the Sweetness of that Ease which induced him to be either false, or remiss in the Service of his King and Country. But while some of the *Laity* are labouring in this Service, there are those among the *Clergy*, who act upon another Principle, which they brought into the World about the Year 1640. We agree that the King and Government is to be obeyed for Conscience sake, and the Precepts of Religion require Obedience not only of the Subject here, but in all Parts of the World, to their lawful Governours; but this particular Frame of Government is our legal Constitution by the Laws of the Land. Monarchy by Divine Right cannot be bounded nor limited by human Laws, nor can it indeed effectually bound it-self. All Claims vested in the People collectively, or in Particulars, either by the Constitution of the Government, or by Law, all Jurisdictions and Privileges of the House of Lords, all the Rights of the House of Commons, all the Liberties and Properties of the People are, according to this
Princi-

Principle, to be yeilded up, if required, not only to serve the Interest, but the Will and Pleasure of the Crown. The best and worthiest Men, holding this mistaken notion must, if they act conformably to it, surrender accordingly. Could the *Lacedæmonian* Government have held long, if a Party among them of this Stamp had prevailed? This Principle was a main Occasion of the *Civil Wars* among us, and contributed to bring us to the very brink of Ruin before the *Revolution*; and if it spreads again will be fatal to us by throwing us into Confusions and Tumults: One Conclusion may be naturally drawn from the Substance of this Digression, which will properly bring us to our Subject: The *Ephori* were the Guardians of Liberty at *Sparta*, as our *Parliaments* are *here*; and I must needs give the Preference to a Representative of the People, as a better Security against the Encroachments of regal Power, than their *Ephori*, or the Tribunes among the *Romans*.

The *Athenians* making large Conquests in *Asia*, began to eclipse the *Spartan* Glory, upon which a War ensued between them, and after various Losses sustained by *Athens*,
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they took the City and dismantled it. Soon after this success the War between them and the *Bæotians* broke out; who were underhand assisted by the *Athenians*, and openly by the *Persians*. Here they felt Shocks unknown to them before that time; I refer you to the Life of *Epaminondas* the *Theban*. Next they were involved in the *Holy War* of that Age, and much streightned by *Philip* of *Macedon*; but still they held their Liberty, till *Antigonus*, one who succeeded in a Part of *Alexander's* Empire, defeated *Cleomenes* their last King, killed his Brother and 6000 *Spartans*, entered the City, and was the first Man that ever was received into it as a Conqueror. This was 221 Years before the Christian *Æra*, and above 700 Years from *Lycurgus*. Thus I have in a few Words given you a Crayon of the History of the *Lacedæmonians*, which may be a Guide to you in reading any of the Occurrences of that Government. The most learned Civilian *P. Ærodius* in his Collection of the *Ancient adjudged Cases*, (*ab omni Antiquitate*, as he expresses it, that agree with Reason and tend to the Illustration of the *Civil Laws*;) has many more Cases

Cases drawn from *Precedents* among the *Lacedæmonians*, than from any other People; you may likewise observe that in *Valerius Maximus* the Instances of Wisdom and Virtue taken from the *Spartans* bear no small Proportion in his Rhapsody. Having *Lucius Florus* now in my Hands, (the Panegyrical Historian of the *Roman Commonwealth*;) I cannot omit mentioning the Account of a Defeat which he was to make the best of, and passing over the Number of those slain and those taken Prisoners: Hic paulum circumacta Fortuna est, tantum ut plura essent Romanæ urbis Insignia, cujus ferè magnitudo calamitatibus approbatur. Nam conversis ad externa Auxilia hostibus, cum Xantippum illis ducem Lacedæmon misisset, à viro militiæ peritissimo vincimur, cum foedâ clade, Romanisq; usu incognita, vivus in manus hostium venit fortissimus Imperator, [Regulus *.] This Action in our common Chronologies is placed 253 Years before Christ. We cannot form a juster Idea of the Excellency and Efficacy of the

* See *Lucius Florus* on the first *Punic War*, Book II, Chap. ii.

Lacedæmonian Institutions and Laws than by looking into the Lives of the great Men, who have been produced under that Government; a List of some of them are given us by *Lucius Ampelius* as follows, *Lycurgus*, *Theopompus*, *Polydorus*, *Othryades*, *Leonidas*, *Pausanias*, *Leander*, *Xantippus*, *Agisilaus*.

The Ancient Civil Government of all *Greece*, (and that will take in *Peloponnesus*) may be considered. First, in its Origination. Secondly, under the various Alterations it went through.

As to the first, its Origin, we shall find that some Governments arose from Consent and Compact, and that in particular Cities, some were independent on any other for their Original, and others owed their Original to neighbouring Cities, who sent out Colonies to plant them.

In the Alterations that happened in their Governments, some of them arose by Consent among themselves, as was the Case of *Lacedæmon*, and others of those Alterations that arose by intestine Seditions, which made way for Usurpation, and others were changed by Conquest from Abroad. I have

have been the more minute in these Divisions, because I am persuaded they may be of use in reading not only the *Grecian History*, but also the Histories of all other Parts of the World, if you trace them from their first Sources. For the clearer Discovery of these Points, as they relate to *Greece* it will be necessary to consider the constituent Cause of Civil Government, *the People*, in their Origin, and in their Dispositions and Manners: As to the first of these, we find two very differing accounts, some say they were descended from Ancestors, who came thither from *Ionia*, *Doris* and *Eolia* in *Asia Minor*; and others assert, that they were *Aborigines*, or sprung out of the Earth, where they inhabited, and had always lived thereabouts; this is all the Notices we can have of them from their own Authors; the latter of which, however false it may be, serves to teach us thus much, that the Country had been inhabited time out of Mind: As to their Whimsy of being *Aborigines*, I think it ought rather to be looked upon as a frivolous Notion in their Philosophy, than an Error in their History; and since they endeavour to persuade us that all the Western Nations were derived

derived and peopled from them, why may we not rather conclude in arguing against their Notion, that they themselves were Colonies from the South East Parts, rather than that their Land peopled it-self, unless they pretended to prove that their Soil was better able, and more disposed to bear Mankind than any other. If from their Origin we come to their Dispositions and Manners in the most ancient Times, before they coalesced into their respective Governments, we shall find them to have been very barbarous, and wandering from one Place to another in quest of Food and Maintenance; those who inhabited barren Countries, making frequent Incurfions upon those that held the more fruitful, and these were often driven out to make room for others, and afterwards those again expelled. The most fruitful Countries were the constant Scenes of such Vicissitudes: these Changes of Inhabitants were more frequent in *Peloponnesus*, than in *Attica*, which being more barren was less molested with these Per-mutations. Besides these Inroads among themselves, they were no less harrassed on their Coasts by the continued Invasions of Pyrates, (an inseparable

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ble Consequence of Naval Superiority) who inhabited the Islands, and the Continent of *Asia* bordering upon the Sea; which made them in those early times not venture to live near the Sea. Thus they were in a State of almost perpetual War both abroad and at home: It is very observable how these Accounts correspond with our first Discoveries in *America*; and thus it continued in *Greece*, till *Minos* King of *Crete* (now *Candia*) with his Fleet destroy'd all the Pyrates, and set up several Governments, making his Sons, Princes. When the Seas were thus cleared, they became free for Trade, which induced the People to live upon the Coasts of *Greece*, and to apply themselves to the Art of Navigation, tho' *Lycurgus* prohibited Trade, as tending to foment Luxury, which was contrary to that Severity of Manners, and Parsimony of Living which he introduced; and tho' that Austere Method did not contribute to extend their Conquests, it gave them a long Duration within their own Bounds. Concerning the particular Governments of *Greece*, some were free and Independent on any other, and many arose from Colonies: as for the Foundation of
Sparta

Sparta or *Lacedæmon*, the Chronologers run it up so far back into the fabulous Age, that we cannot depend upon any thing certain either from *Pausanias*, or *Stephanus* in his Treatise *De Urbibus*, who place the building of it about 1700 Years before the Birth of *Christ*, which was coeval with the Time when *Jacob* sent his ten Sons to buy Corn in *Egypt*: From thence till the Reign of *Menelaus* all things lye in Obscurity; he was King of *Lacedæmonia*, and his story too well known to be mentioned; his Son-in-Law *Orestes* having married *Hermione* became King of *Mycenæ* and *Sparta*, this was soon after the taking of *Troy*, from which Æra the Computation of the *Grecian* History begins to acquire some degree of Certainty; and this was about the latter Part of the Age, when the Judges governed in *Israel*, about 1200 Years before *Christ*. When the Line of *Orestes* failed the *Heraclide*, (or Descendants of *Hercules*) governed *Lacedæmon*, *Mycenæ* and *Corinth*; there were several Branches of them, but the Kingdom of *Sparta* was in them, when *Lycurgus* gave them the Laws he brought from *Crete*, or framed himself for them. He

was Contemporary with *Homer*, and lived about 900 Years before *Christ*. *Aristotle* at the latter End of the Tenth Book of his *Ethics*, speaking of the Force and Efficacy of Laws, draws an Argument from the Example of the *Lacedæmonians*, whose Legislature had put the Education and Discipline of their Youth under the Direction of Publick Laws; and as they excelled their neighbouring Governments in this respect, so both *Aristotle* and *Xenophon* assign this as the Cause of that Superiority, which *Sparta* maintained over the other Cities of *Greece*, who being negligent in this important Point, a Dissolution of Morals and Virtue was a Consequence that necessarily followed it. There are Instances among them of proceeding to Judgment and Execution against State Criminals without tying themselves down to the common Forms of their Courts of Judicature. When the Danger was great and imminent, they did not use the Formality of an Accusation, and a legal Tryal, but to prevent worse Consequences proceeded in a Summary Way. This was an *Attainder* among them, and *Agessilaus* gave a Precedent of it, when, as *Plutarch* recites the
Case;

Case; the City being besieged by the *Thebans* under their wise and valiant General *Epaminondas*, Information was given that some *Spartan* Citizens were met together in the Night on a treasonable Design; whereupon *Agésilas*, by the Advice and Authority of the *Senate* and the *Ephori*, seized them upon the Spot, and immediately caused them to be put to Death without any open Process, or Trial. Upon this *Valerius Maximus* observes in his seventh Book, that it was a very prudent Action in *Agésilas*, in suspending upon that Occasion the Laws of *Lycurgus*, which strictly forbid the Punishment of uncondemned Persons: *Comprehensis autem & interfectis fontibus easdem Lege se vestigio restituit; atque utrumq; simul providit, ne salutaris Animadversio, vel injusta esset, vel jure impediretur: Itaq; ut semper esse possent, aliquando non fuerunt.* That is, having apprehended the Guilty and put them to Death, he presently restored the Laws again.

Old Mr. *Henry Nevil*, whom you know they call *Plato* at the *Grecian Coffee-House*^a,

^a In *Devereux-Court* without *Temple-Bar* is a Coffee-House so called, from its being originally kept by Mr. *George Constantine* a Greek.

from his being Author of an excellent Treatise intituled *Plato Redivivus*, Or a *Dialogue* concerning *Government*: Anno, 1681, wherein by Observations drawn from other Kingdoms and States, both ancient and modern, an endeavour is used to discover the present Politick Distemper of our own, with the Causes and Remedies. This wise and experienced Gentleman says, p. 248. " I have ever thought that the *Ephori* of *Sparta* were an admirable *Magistracy*, not only for the Interest of the *People*, but likewise of the Authority of the *Kings*, and of their Lives too: for *Plutarch* observes that the City of *Mycenæ* and *Argos* had the same Government with *Lacedæmon*, and yet for want of erecting such an Authority as was in the *Spartan-Ephori*, they were in perpetual Broils amongst themselves; and for that Reason were ever beaten by their Enemies; whereas the *Spartans* were always victorious: and at last in both those Cities the *Kings* were driven out, their Families extirpated, and the Government turned into a Democracy. " We may see from this, that *Theopompus* shewed a great Penetration into

into Futurity, as well as Moderation with regard to his own personal Power. When he instituted the *Ephori*, They told him he had lessened the Grandeur of his Children: he replied; he should indeed leave it less, but more lasting. *Optimè quidam*, says the *Roman* Author, *ea enim demum tuta potentia, quæ viribus suis modum imponit.*

THE END.



into Trinity, as well as Washington, with
 regard to his own personal power. When
 he initiated the Board of Trustees, and
 he had told the Governor of the State
 then: he replied: he would initiate a
 new, and more lasting. On that day, 1851

the Roman Nation, as now known, this
 historic day, under this modern system.

THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES

THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES
 was organized on the 1st day of
 January, 1851, and has since that
 time been engaged in the work of
 the University.

It has been the policy of the Board
 to maintain the University as a
 free and open institution, and to
 make it a place where all men
 may come to study and to
 improve their minds.

The Board has also been careful
 to maintain the University as a
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LUCIAN

SACRIFICES
TRANSLATIONS

FROM

LUCIAN.

First Printed in the Year 1710.

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LUCIAN

OF

SACRIFICES.

The ARGUMENT.

This is a general bold-spirited Satire upon all the Heathen Superstition; their Gods, Temples, Altars, Sacrifices, and the whole System of the Pagan Worship. 'Tis writ with an Air and Spirit peculiar to the happy Genius of Lucian; and I have this only Exception to it, That he seems to assign a wrong Original of Sacrifices, and to mistake Folly and Delusion in the People, for Design and Knavery in the Priests. I am glad, for the Honour of my Religion, that the Pagan Priests are the Reverse of ours, and that a Satire upon them is a Panegyrick upon the Clergy of our Church, whose unshaken Firmness

to their Principles, Zeal for the Religion and Liberty of their Country, and a thousand other great Qualities, may justly secure them from all the groundless Cavils of our modern Scepticks, whose Opinions no good Man can allow, and no wise Man will profess.

WHEN a thinking Man reflects upon the Honours we pay the Gods, and the Opinions we entertain of them, our solemn Festivals, the Forms and the Pomp of our Worship, and the whole Pageantry of the religious Farce, he must be in a very ill Humour if he can hold from laughing at so ridiculous a Scene: Tho', after all, 'twere worth while to enquire, whether this mistaken Zeal of Mankind ought to be called Piety, or no: For I dare appeal to the general Sense of all wise Men, if it is not a sort of Blasphemy to fancy, that the Gods are pleased with the humble Glory of being adored; that these immortal Powers are fond of the Smoke of Altars, and in pain for the omission of those Duties which the thoughtless World has been taught to pay them. Is it possible to form
a more

a more criminal Idea of the Gods, than to paint them with all the Follies and Passions of Mankind? For the Poets assure us, that the ravaging of *Ætolia*, the Miseries of the *Caledonians*, the Death of *Meleager* and so many brave Men, was nothing else but an Effect of *Diana's* Revenge upon *Oeneus*, for neglecting to invite her to a Sacrifice with the rest of the Gods. Methinks I see the Goddess all melancholy and disconsolate in Heaven, fretting and fuming, and resenting the Affront to the last degree, while the other Gods are revelling and making merry below. As for the *Æthiopians*, we have all the reason in the World to believe them the happiest of Mortals. If *Jove* make 'em those Returns, which in Honour and Gratitude he is obliged to, for an Entertainment of twelve Days which they made him and all the Host of Heaven, as *Homer* tells us in the beginning of his Poem; at this rate the Bounty of the Gods is but Usury, those generous disinterested Benefactors to the World are but designing mercenary Beings, not above the sordid Returns of Benefits: Their Favours are directed to no nobler Aims than

to gain That double which they bestow, and all their good Offices are prostituted to the fairest Bidder : Their Fury is disarmed, and their Favour purchased by a Sacrifice. Health may be bought for an Heifer, and Riches at the expence of four Oxen : But a Hecatomb is the Price of a Kingdom, and a Sacrifice of nine Bulls pays for a safe return to *Pylos*. Thus *Agamemnon* bribed them with the Blood of a Royal Virgin for a Wind to *Troy* ; and *Hecuba* presented *Minerva* with twelve Bulls and an embroidered Gown, to buy a Reprieve for *Troy*. And no doubt we may compound with the Gods upon easier Terms, and purchase many a fair Boon at the expence of a Cock, a Garland, or a Handful of Frankincense. *Chryses*, the Priest of *Apollo*, a Man of Age and Experience, who knew the mercenary Temper of the Gods, and the most prevailing Motives to engage them in his Quarrel, when *Agamemnon* had refused to do him Justice, arraigns his God for Ingratitude, claims his Protection, as a Debt to his Merit, insults him in a huffing Tone, and scarce forbears ill Language : *Is this*, says he, *the Reward of suffering Virtue ? Are these the generous*

rous

vous Returns you make your Votaries? Am I to be thus recompensed for all my past Services? For crowning your Temples and staining your Altars with the Blood of so many Bulls and Goats? This Speech wrought such an effect upon the God, that he immediately snatched his Bow and Arrows, and posting himself near the Grecian Fleet, in a raging Fury, let fly whole Vollicies of Arrows, and shattered Diseases and Contagions thro' the whole Army, without sparing the innocent Asses and Mules, who all felt the Divine Vengeance. The Mention of *Apollo*, puts me in Mind of some other Stories which these hair-brained Zealots have fathered upon him, not to name his unsuccessful Amours, the Murder of *Hyacinthus*, nor the Scorn of *Daphne*, but his Banishment from Heaven is his top Adventure: For *Jove* stript him of his Divinity, degraded him to a Man, and sent him down a grazing upon Earth, to do Penance for the Murder of the Cyclops. In this Distress he was forced to take Refuge in *Thessaly*, and be a Journey-man to *Amelus*; and in *Pbrygia*, he and *Neptune* turned Bricklayers to *Laomedon*, to keep themselves from starving, and
when

when they had built up the Walls of *Troy*, were cheated of their Wages by *Laomedon*; who, to this very Day, is thirty Trojan Drachma's in Arrears to them. Are not these and a thousand other ridiculous Legends sung of the Gods by the Poets, who have made 'em the shining Parts of their Poems, and heightened them with all the majestick Air of heroick Poetry? Tho' this is nothing in comparison of the Godlike Attributes they are pleased to bestow upon *Vulcan*, *Prometheus*, *Saturn*, *Rhea*, and, in one word, upon the whole Race of *Jupiter*. And what's remarkable, these Panegyricks upon the Gods are ushered in by a solemn Invocation of the Muses, whose Assistance they implore; and then, inspired by a divine Impulse, sing the History of the Gods; that *Saturn* gelt his Father *Ouranos*, and then usurped the Empire of the World, and levelled every thing that lay in the Way of his Glory: That, to reign without a Rival, he devoured his own Children, like another *Thyestes*: That *Rhea* had the Address to conceal *Jupiter*, and palm a Stone upon his Father; that the young God was exposed in *Crete*, and nursed by a Goat, as *Telephus*

Iephus was by a Deer, and the first and great *Grus* by a Bitch. That he afterwards deposed his Father, made him a Prisoner, and invaded his Crown; then made all Heaven a Brothel-house, married an infinite number of Wives, and, last of all, his own Sister *Juno*, in Imitation of the Assyrians and Persians, among whom Incest is tolerated by the Laws of the Land. The next Scene of his Life is his Lust, which they make as boundless as his Command; that he stocked all Heaven with a Race of Bastards, some of whom were begot by a kindly Mixture of God and Goddess; others were of a mortal Strain, a mungrel Race, half Human, half Divine; that he transformed himself into more variety of Shapes than ever *Proteus* did; into Gold, a Swan, an Eagle, a Bull, in the pursuit of his Amours. 'Tis true, in his Brain, he conceived *Minerva* and brought her into the World without a Mother's Pain. *Bacchus*, half formed, he snatched from his burning Mother, and buried him in his own Thigh, and at nine Months end was brought to bed of him. Nor have they given *Juno* better Quarter; they pretend, that she conceived without the help

help of a Man, and was delivered of poor *Vulcan*, a sooty gloomy God, that dealt in Smoke and Charcoal, and worked Day and Night at the Anvil: And, to his other Misfortunes, was made a Cripple by *Jupiter*, who in a Rage flung him headlong out of Heaven, and the poor God had infallibly broke his Neck, like another *Astyanax*, if the good-natured *Lemnicus* had not taken Pity of him, and saved him in a Blanket, which broke the Fall; but he contracted a Lameness he could never be cured of. But this is nothing to the severe Treatment of *Prometheus*; every one knows how dear he paid for his Kindness to the World; *Jupiter* in a Passion hurried him away into *Scythia*, and bound him fast on *Caucasus*, with an Eagle eternally preying upon his Liver, to punish him for his bold Theft. But the wild Frolicks and Sallies of *Rhea* must not go unmentioned. What in the Name of Wonder could tempt a Person of her Years and Gravity, to act a Part so unbecoming the Mother of the Gods, to fall in Love with a Boy? What Excuse can she plead for this extravagant Fit of Jealousie, for her carrying him with her in a Chariot drawn by Lions, and

and strolling about the World in this frantick Equipage, with a Boy who was not capable of making her those Returns of Gallantry she expected? And, after this, will any one dare condemn the innocent Intrigues of *Venus*, or blame *Diana*, for descending from her Orb, to the Caresses of her dear *Endymion*? But let's quit this Scene, and take a poetick Flight to Heaven, by the same Road that *Homer* and *Hesiod* have traced out to the World, and take a full View of the Oeconomy of Heaven, and how Matters are managed above. *Homer* discovered long ago, that the outer Vault of the Firmament was a brazen Arch, which when you have mounted and crossed the Ramparts of the Skies, and entered the Empyrean Heaven, there appears an astonishing Blaze of Light, an eternal Day, a calm Serenity of Nature, never ruffled, never discomposed; the Sun and Stars shine with unalterable Glories, the Pavement is all Gold, and the Eye in the endless Round meets with nothing but an universal Scene of Light. The winged Horses keep guard at the Gates, *Mercury* and *Iris*, the Scouts and Expresses of the Gods, are posted next. Beyond them is *Vulcan's*
H Shop,

Shop, full of all sorts of Instruments and artificial Fire-works. Next stands the Palace of the Gods, splendid above all Imagination, contrived and finished by *Vulcan*. There *Jove*, high on a royal Throne, sits in the Circle of the Gods, surveying all the World below,

— *In hopes some welcome Fires to descry,
Or bleeding Altars crown'd with curling Smoke.*

Homer.

And if the Spirit of Devotion possesses the World that Day, and a Sacrifice is offered to them, they all bow their Heads, and snuff up the Incense and Fume, and riot, like Flies, upon the Blood of the Victim. But if they dine at their own Cost, they take up with their own Nectar and Ambrosia: Mankind was formerly admitted to their Banquets, as *Ixion* and *Tantalus*; But both are severely punished to this Day, one for attempting a Rape upon *Juno*, the other for betraying their Secrets, and no Mortal since had the Honour of their Company.

This is the Life the Gods lead, and the whole System of the Divine Worship has been
formed

formed agreeable to the extravagant Ideas the World has framed of these formidable Fantoms. In the early Dawn of Superstition, Mankind was content to consecrate their Groves, Mountains, and Plants to some particular God. The prevailing Folly advanced by Degrees, and then every Nation made a God free of their State, and chose him for their Tutelar Genius and Guardian. Thus *Apello* was the Patron of *Delphos* and *Delos*, and *Athens* was under the immediate Care and Protection of *Minerva* or *Athena*, as is visible from the Name. *Juno* had her Privilege in *Argos*, *Rhea* in *Mygdonia*, and *Venus* in *Pathos*. The Cretans lay claim not only to the Birth of *Jupiter*, but pretend to shew his Tomb still extant; and the World has been deluded for many Ages in fancying that *Jove*, who died and was buried in *Crete*, thunders and rains, and sits at the busie Helm of the Universe. The next Progress Superstition made was the erecting Temples in honour of these imaginary Guardians, and Statues and Images finished by those great Masters of Antiquity, *Phidias*, *Praxiteles*, and *Polycletus*. Tho' 'tis unaccountable where those Gods sat for their

Pictures, or how these Statuaries discovered their Features and Habits; as for instance, *Jove* is always represented with a long Beard, *Mercury* in the Bloom of his Youth, *Nep-tune* with black Hair, and *Minerva* with grey Eyes. The poor Enthusiasts who enter into their Temples, can never imagine that the Image they adore, is a native Piece of Ivory brought from the *Indies*, or Gold dug out of the Thracian Mines, but the real Son of *Saturn* and *Rhea*, drawn down from Heaven by *Phidias*, and horsed on that Image, and commanded to guard the Plains of *Pisa*, upon condition that a Sacrifice be offered to him once in five Years, together with the additional Honour of the Olympick Games. This Folly was succeeded by a worse, the erecting of Altars, and to give the finishing Stroke to Superstition, Oracles, * consecrated Chalices, and Sacrifices were introduced into the World. Some offered Frankincense, others Cakes, the Plowman sacrificed his Ox, the Goatherd his Goat, and the Shepherd his Lamb, and made the Blood of innocent Beasts atone

* ἀσπίδαυτις.

for guilty Man. But the poor Suppliant, who had no Victim to fall for him, kissed the Hand of his God, and so made his Peace with him. But to return to the Manner and Forms of their SACRIFICES; they are first of all extremely cautious in the choice of a Beast, for fear of offending the God, by offering an unlawful Victim; they make a diligent Inquiry whether 'tis sound and intire in all its Parts, and duly qualified for that great Honour; and when that's done, crown it with a Garland, lead it in state to the Altar, and knock it down in the Presence of the God; the poor Beast, all the time of its Execution, making a mournful Noise, or, as we may easily apprehend, dying with good Omens and Blessings in its Mouth, contenting it-self to its Death, and with its expiring Breath, lowing in Concert with the Divine Service. Can any one imagine, that the Gods are not ravished with this Sight? Over the Door of the Temple stands a Bill to give warning, that no unhallowed Person approach the Altar, or come within the reach of the consecrated Vessels. Then the Divine Butcher, like another Cyclops, dissects the Beast, draws out the Intrails,

plucks out the Heart, and pours out the Blood upon the Altar, and performs the rest of the Ceremony; and last of all, kindles the Pile of Wood, claps on the Goat, Skin and all, and so burns them. Then the Sacred Fumes mount on high, and spread themselves by degrees over all the Heavens. The Scythians scorn these humble Offerings, and think no Victim worthy of their Goddess *Diana*, but a Human one. In *Greece* Superstition seems to have been restrained within tolerable Bounds, and the Lydian, Assyrian and Phrygian Worship, amidst a thousand Fooleries, has an Air of Grandeur and a Face of Authority. But *Egypt* presents us with another Scene of Devotion, and a Strain of Religion beyond any thing the rest of the World can boast of: There, the divine Honours have a becoming Reverence worthy of Heaven and the God they are addressed to. What can be more august than *Jove* with a Ram's Head, and *Mercury* with a Dog's, *Pan* all a Goat, another God an *Ibis*, a third a Crocodile, and a fourth an Ape? If you take the Pains to enquire into the true Reason of this fantastick Worship, the Scribes, Philosophers, and Prophets, with
their

their Beards close shaved, will tell you the whole Mystery (after the usual Preface of, *Hence ye profane*) that the Gods, in the Rebellion of the Giants, were driven out of Heaven, and in a pannick Fright forced to take shelter in *Egypt*; where, for their own security, they transformed themselves into Beasts; one into a Ram, a second into a Bird, a third into another Beast; and that they have ever since been adored in the Shapes they then assumed. And for a Proof of this, they vouch the Authority of their Annals, which they pretend to be of ten thousand Years standing, very accurately composed and preserved in their Temples. Their Sacrifices are the same with other Nations, with this difference only, that they mourn over the dead Beast, and give it devout Burial. As for *Apis*, the most adored of all their Gods, when he dies all *Egypt* is in Tears for the publick Loss, every Man shaves his Head, and would think he profaned the God, if he let his Hair grow, he had the Purple Lock of *Nysus*, who had Success and Happiness entailed upon it. This ^a *Apis*, who is singled out from the rest, and

^a See the 3d Book of *Herodotus*.

*voted a God, is the noblest and best shaped Beast in the Herd, and born with the Marks of Divinity upon him.

The mistaken Part of the World who believe these gross and popular Opinions of the Gods, and use all this fantastick Train of Ceremonies, do not much stand in need of the Severity of a serious Reproof, as a *Heracletus* and a *Democritus*, one to ridicule their Madness, the other to lament their Folly.

* *χρηστὸν μὲν.*



HERODOTUS,

OR

AETION.

The ARGUMENT.

Lucian in his Satires, having lashed all Orders and Degrees of Men, with all the old and new Follies of the Heathen Religion, in this little Piece has given us an Essay how well he could have succeeded in Panegyrick, tho' the Bent of his Genius gave him a stronger Bias to Satire. 'Tis a Speech, by way of Preface to a Recital of his Works before a numerous Audience in Macedonia, that was the Occasion and Subject of this short Discourse.

Would to God I could imitate the other Excellencies of *Herodotus*, I don't say all, for it would be a vain Presumption
to

to hope to copy every Beauty of so great an Original, who was the Glory of the Age he lived in, and will be the Shame and Despair of all succeeding ones. I would be content with imitating any one particular Excellency; as for example, the Elegance of his Style, the Justness of his Compositions, the Propriety and Native Purity of his Ionick Dialect, and Gravity of his Sentences, or any single one of a thousand inimitable Beauties by which he has distinguished himself. These Graces are indeed above our reach, but his Way of making himself so universally known to all *Greece* in so short a time, You or I or any Man may imitate. Spurred on, by a noble Ambition, after Fame, he sailed from *Caria* into *Greece*, where he began to consider with himself of the most effectual Means of spreading the Reputation of himself and his Writings over all *Greece*. To make the Circle of the whole Country, to visit every State and Province, and read his History to every particular City, was a Work of too much Pains and Difficulty, and required too much Time. This Project he immediately declined, and resolved to steer a shorter Course to Fame, and

and without these insensible Degrees, found a more compendious Way to raise himself all at once in a general Assembly of *Greece*. The Olympick Games were at hand, and now *Herodotus*, imagining the Time was arrived, for which he had so long waited, and observing the vast Concourse of People, and especially of the Nobility, which flocked thither from all Parts of *Greece*, upon so solemn an Occasion, he laid hold of the Opportunity, and entred into the Temple of *Jupiter*; where, instead of a Spectator, he made himself a Combatant, and read his History to a numerous Audience, with such universal Applause, that his nine Books were called by the Names of the nine Muses, and he himself was better known than the Conquerors in the Games. Every one knew the Name of *Herodotus*, some heard it at *Olympia*, and others had it from those who were there. Wherever he appeared, all the World pointed at him, and said, *That is Herodotus, who wrote the History of the Persian War in the Ionick Dialect, and celebrated our Victories.* *Herodotus* was amply recompensed, by having his History crowned with the universal Suffrage
of

of the Assembly, and stamped into a Value by the common Voice of Greece. He was not like the common Conquerors in the Games, proclaimed by one Cryer; but every City, that had any of its Citizens Spectators at *Olympia*, and all Greece were the common Heralds of his Fame. *Hippias* the *Elean* Rhetorician, *Prodicus* the *Cean*, *Anaximenes* the *Chian*, and *Polus* the *Agrigentine*, with many others, perceiving this to be the shortest Cut to Fame, pursued his Example, and repeated their Works at the Olympick Games, and quickly gained a Reputation. But what need I produce the Authorities of these old Rhetoricians, Historians, and Orators, when so lately *Aetion* the Painter, after he had drawn the Marriage of *Alexander* and *Roxana*, exposed it to the publick View of the Assembly at *Olympia*, with so much Success, that *Proxenides*, the Judge of the Games, in Admiration of his Art, made him his Son-in-law. Perhaps you'll demand, what was there so extraordinary in this Piece, to deserve such a Reward, and to tempt *Proxenides* to bestow his Daughter on a Stranger? I have seen the Picture in *Italy*, and can give you a full Description
of

of it. There is first drawn, a very rich Bed-chamber, and a nuptial Bed, on which sits the beautiful *Roxana*, with a modest down-cast Look, becoming the Innocence of a Virgin. Hard by, stand several smiling Loves, one draws off *Roxana's* Veil, and shews her to her Bridegroom; another very officiously draws off her Slippers, as a Summons to her to prepare for the soft Business of the Night. Another takes hold of *Alexander's* Robe, and draws him with great Force towards *Roxana*. The King presents her with a Crown. *Hephestion*, the Brideman, stands by with a lighted Torch in his Hand, supported by a very handsome Youth, whom I guess to be *Hymeneus*, for there is no Name written underneath him. On the other side of the Piece, are drawn several Loves, playing with the Arms of *Alexander*. Two of them carry his Spear on their Shoulders, like Porters, bending beneath the Weight of a heavy Beam. Two others take his Buckler, with a Man like the King stretched upon it, and draw it along by the Handles. Another creeps into *Alexander's* Coat of Mail, and lies in Ambush, to fright the others as they pass by. We must not imagine this last Piece

to be the idle Flourish of a Painter, without any Meaning or Design; 'tis to shew, that War was the darling Pleasure of *Alexander*, and that the Charms of *Roxana* never made him lose his Passion for Arms and Glory. There was a secret Magick in this Piece, a sort of a Marriage Philter. The Picture wooed and won a Mistress for *Action*; the Great *Alexander* was the Brideman, and a well painted Wedding was the Price of a real one. But, to return to *Herodotus*, he thought the Assembly of the Olympick Games a Theatre illustrious enough to make his first entrance on, and that an Historian, who had recorded the great Actions of *Greece*, could not have a nobler Audience. I beseech you not to imagine me so mad as to go about to make a Parallel between my Works and those of *Herodotus*. That would be an unpardonable Presumption. May the *Manes* of that great Man be propitious to me. But this I may say, without Vanity, That at my first arrival here, I had the same Ambition with him of having my Writings known to all the World, and seen by as many *Macedonians* as possible. I considered 'twould be too laborious

rious a Task, at that Time of the Year, to go the whole Circuit of *Macedonia*, and make a Visit to every particular City; but if I waited for this Occasion, and read my little Essays before this illustrious Assembly, I could not fail of having all my Expectations answered. This Assembly is composed of the Flower of all *Macedonia*, in a large and noble City, not like *Pisa*, streightned with Tents and Cottages, nor incommoded with Heat. 'Tis a Meeting not composed of the Rabble, who entertain themselves with the sight of the Wrestlers, and neglect *Herodotus*, but a Circle of the best Historians, Rhetoricians and Orators in the World; infomuch, that I fancy it falls very little short of the Olympick Games. As for the Prize I am now to play, if you match me with these great Conquerors in the Games, *Polydamus*, *Milo*, or *Glaucus*, I should be a bold Man to enter the Lists; but if you view me singly, without comparing me with them, I hope I shall not deserve whipping, which is all I can expect in such a Combat as this.



LUCIAN's Dialogue

WITH

HESIOD.

The ARGUMENT.

This Dialogue is a pleasant Satire upon Hesiod, for pretending to be Divinely inspired by the Muses, with the Knowledge of future Events. The Philosophers, with all their Gravity, could not escape the Raille-ry of Lucian, and the Poets, who lay so open, had, of all Men, the least Reason to expect fair Quarter from him. For they were the first Inventors of all the old Fables, and Superstitions of the Heathen Religion, which so fatally overspread the World for many Ages, and at which Lucian's Satires are chiefly levelled. These Poeti-

Poetical Fictions gave him an ample Subject for Satire, which was extremely enlarged by some Fooleries, and Superstitions introduced newly into the Heathen Religion, by the bold Impostors of his own Age and Memory, Peregrinus and Alexander, and by Apollonius Tyanæus, who lived not long before him. All these impudent Cheats and Hypocrites he has most dextrously unmasked, and exposed to the World in their true Colours.

Lucian. **T**HE happy daring, and the noble Enthusiasm of your Poetry, is a Proof, that you received your Inspiration, together with your Laurel, from the Hands of the Muses. This we readily allow. But after all, there is another Difficulty still remaining behind. You assure us, in the beginning of your *Theogony*, that you were inspired by the Muses with this prophetick Rage, to sing the Story of former Ages, and to foretel the Fate of those to come. Your Poems confirm the Truth of the former Part of your Assertion; you have traced the Pedigree of the Gods, up to their first Original; to the Chaos,

I

Earth,

Earth, Heaven, and Love; who were the primitive Deities. You have sung of the Virtues of Women, and given Rules for Agriculture; and, in general, have said all that was necessary, concerning the Pleiades, and the proper Seasons of Plowing, Mowing, and Navigation. As for the other Part, which would have been of greater Advantage to Mankind, and a Gift more agreeable to the ordinary Favours of the Gods, you have entirely omitted it; and there is not one Syllable in your Poems to warrant the Truth of this imaginary Gift of Prophecy. In this you have acted quite contrary to *Calchas*, *Polyidus*, *Phineus*, and *Telephus*; who, tho' they never pretended to this chimerical Inspiration from the Muses, made no Scruple to give Answers to all that consulted 'em. So that, in short, you are guilty of one of these three Faults; either the Promise, which you pretend the Muses made you, was in plain Terms, a downright Lye; or else the Muses were as good as their Words, and you envy the Knowledge of such useful Discoveries to the World; or, perhaps, you composed some Poems of this kind, but reserved the publishing of them

them to I know not what time, for Reasons best known to your self: For I dare not say, that the Muses made you a Promise of a double Favour, and made good one half, and then recalled the other Part of their Grant; especially when the Promise of inspiring you with the Knowledge of Things to come, was made before the other. From whom therefore can I learn the true Reason but from you? For, as the Gods are the Benefactors of Mankind, so 'tis the Duty of you, who are their Favourite and Pupil, to resolve truly all our Doubts, and publish what you know for the common Benefit of the World.

Hesiod. I could easily answer your Objection, by telling you, that I have no Property in my own Works; that I was only a passive Instrument to the Call of the Muses; and, that they are accountable for all my Writings, and all my Omissions. As for these Poems which I wrote upon my own Bottom, without the Succours of the Muses, and my Rules for feeding and governing the Flock, and, in general, for all Duties and Employments of a Shepherd, for these I own 'tis reasonable I should make a Defence.

fence. I might allege, in behalf of my other Poems, that the Muses bestow their Favours on whom they please, and as long only and as far forth, as they think it proper and convenient. But, waving this general Plea, I'll make a more particular Apology for my Works. Our poetical Censurers ought to judge with more Candour and good Nature, they ought not to examine every Word and Syllable, by all the Rigour of the Rules, nor damn an Author for every little Negligence or Mistake. Poetry cannot bear the Test of so severe a Scrutiny. These false Criticks ought to consider, that Poets are sometimes obliged to make those little Slips, for the sake of their Numbers, and their Measure, and to give Sound and Smoothness to their Verses. But you strike at the very Root of Poetry, and rob us of our great Charter, the Liberty of Feigning and Inventing. You overlook all the Beauties and Graces of a Poem, and only view it by its weak Side, you make trifling Cavils and Exceptions at little Errors, from which human Nature is not free. You are not the first Man, that has pretended to this arbitrary Power, nor I the only Poet, that has

has been attacked by these snarling Judges. My Brother Poet, the Divine *Homer*, was not exempt from their Malice. His Ashes were arraigned, and his Reputation thought lawful Prize, by some envious Criticks for Trifles not worth naming. But if, laying aside this general Defence, I must plead directly to your Charge, I appeal to my *Works* and *Days*, read that Poem over, and you will find the whole Piece full of Predictions and Divinations. There I have foretold the Advantages of a due and seasonable Method of Husbandry, and the ill Consequences of any Omission. Witness these Verses,

*A Field untimely plow'd, yields no Return,
No Heards, no welcome Stores of bearded Corn.*

Lucian. The Art of Divination is of infinite use to Mankind, but the Instances you produce, are no more than every Shepherd could have foretold. This silly Defence seems to confirm the Truth of your Assertion, that your Works were inspired by the Muses, and not of your own composing. We expected Predictions of another kind from you and the Muses. For every common

Plow-man can tell, as well as you, that a rainy Summer is the Fore-runner of a good Harvest, and a dry one of a Dearth and Famine. Any Man can tell you, without the help of Inspiration, that the Lands are not to be tilled in Summer; that Seed thrown at random will bring forth no crop; that Corn must not be reaped while 'tis green, for the Seed is then soft, and not fully ripened. 'Tis easie to foretel, without being a Prophet, that if the Seed is not covered over, and the Ground harrowed, the Birds will fly upon it, and destroy all the Hopes of an Harvest. These are no more than common Rules and Precepts of Agriculture, and of a different Nature from Predictions. For the Business of a Prophet is to foretel contingent Events beyond the reach of human Wit to know. To tell *Minos*, that his Son should be stifled in a Barrel of Honey, to reveal the Cause of *Apollo's* Anger to the *Greeks*, and that *Troy* should be taken after a ten Years Siege: This is true Prophecy, and bears the Stamp of Inspiration. But, if your Predictions may be allowed to pass for Prophecies, by the same Rule I may lay claim to the Gift of Divina-

Divination. For, without the *Castalian* Water, the Laurel, or the *Delphick* Tripod, I will venture to prophecy, that if a Man walks naked in Rain, Hail, or the depth of Winter, he shall be seized with a cold Fit of an Ague, and, what's more, that a hot Fit shall succeed, and a hundred other Things of the same Nature, which 'twould be ridiculous to mention. So that if you will take my Advice, wave this frivolous Defence, and stick to your old Plea, that you had no Share in the Composition of these Poems; that every Line was dictated by an Inspiration, which was indeed Divine, tho' not very certain and steady; for otherwise it would not have performed one half of its Promise, and neglected the other half.



LUCIAN's Panegyrick
UPON
DEMOSTHENES.

The ARGUMENT.

Tho' Satire seems to have been the particular Talent of Lucian, which he has so admirably well employed in ridiculing the Folly of the Heathen Worship, and other Superstitions newly crept into the World; yet in this Piece he has given us one of the compleatest Models for Panegyrick that ever was made. This Discourse is written by Way of Dialogue, and is divided into two Parts. The first begins with a Dispute between Lucian and Thersagoras, upon the Merit of Homer and Demosthenes; where Thersagoras, tho' a Poet, and a pro-

a profess'd Admirer of Homer, prefers Demosthenes, at least places him upon the same Level with Homer. The second Part is a Dialogue between Antipater and Archias, who, in spite of their Aversion and Prejudice to Demosthenes, do him all the Justice imaginable; which is a convincing Proof of his great Merit, since that alone was capable of forcing so honourable a Character from the Mouth of an Enemy. This is true Praise, true Panegyrick, and every Man that has a Taste of the Delicacy of this Way of Writing, will easily find it to be no common Address. Lucian in this Piece raises his Tone, and does not write with that free Air of common Discourse, which is the Beauty of his other Dialogues; but this was owing to the Dignity of his Subject, which obliged him to go beyond the Bounds of ordinary Conversation.

AS I was walking in the Portico at Athens, on the 16th Day of the Month, about Noon, on the left Hand, as you go out, I met my Friend *Thersagoras*; one who perhaps is no Stranger to some here: He
is

is a little fair Man, of a strong Make, with a great *Roman* Nose: Seeing him at a distance, making toward me, I easily guessed it was *Thersagoras* the Poet. After the usual Compliments, I asked him whence he came, and where he was going? I came from Home, replied he, with a Design to take a Walk; for I rose very early this Morning, to dedicate the First-fruits of my Poetry to *Homer*, on his Birth-day. 'Tis generously done, replied I, to pay him this Tribute, in return for the great Advantages you derived from the reading his Works. I was so intent on my Poem, replied *Thersagoras*, that I did not perceive 'twas Noon. I have a long time designed to make my Addresses to this great Man, pointing to *Homer*, (for you know his Statue stands in *Ptolomy's* Temple, on the right Hand, and is remarkable for his long Hair) I am now come to pay my Devotions to him, and pray for an Inspiration. Would to God, replied I, our Prayers could prevail; for, if they could have any effect, I would long ago have invoked the Aid of my Patron *Demosthenes*; I would have begged him to assist me in the Composition of a *Panegyrick* upon his Birth-day,

to infuse some of his Spirit and Genius into me, and inspire me with Words and Thoughts suitable to such an Occasion. If these great Men would hear their Votaries, and favour their Prayers, I would pursue your Example; for it equally concerns us both, and the Gain would be in common. For my part, says *Thersagoras*, I have spent all the Morning in Writing a Poem upon *Homer*, to shew how much I value and honour his Merit. 'Twas in Obedience to the Summons of my Muse; for, without Vanity, I was transported with the Fury of a Poet, as you shall judge immediately; for I brought it in my Pocket, to shew it to any of my Friends, whom I found at leisure, as I see you are. *Thersagoras*, you are a happy Man, replied I; and, like a Conqueror in the *Olympick Games*, who, when he has won the Prize, wipes off the Dust, and views, with a secret Joy, the rest of the Spectators; and talks unconcernedly with the next that is to enter the Lists. But, says *Thersagoras*, you would not talk so securely at the Starting-post; and you rather seem to have won the Race, and to mock one who is in pain for the Success of the Course: For there is no reason

son for Suspense in so easy a Task as you have undertaken. It seems then, replied I, you prefer *Homer* to *Demosthenes*, and glory in your *Panegyrick*, and imagine there is no difficulty in praising *Demosthenes*. You wrong me, says *Thersagoras*, for I would not breed any Quarrel between those great Men, tho' I own my self to be in the Interest of *Homer*. And don't you think me, replied I, a greater Favourer of *Demosthenes*? But you have a very mean Opinion of *Ora-tory*: You think *Poetry* the only Study that requires Pains; you are insensible to the Beauties of *Prose*, and despise it as much as a Horse-man does a Foot-man. God forbid, says *Thersagoras*, I should be so mad, tho' great *Poets* should be always nearly allied to Mad-men. Yes, replied I, and an *Orator* too, if he aims at Greatness; and Elevation should be inspired with a prophetick Fury, and write with the Enthusiasm and Emotion of a Man possessed. 'Tis true, says *Thersagoras*, and I am infinitely pleased with singling out some particular Places of *Demosthenes* and other Orators, and comparing the Strength, the Beauty, the Vehemence, and the Bitterness of them, with

some Passages of *Homer*. As for instance, *Homer* calls *Agamemnon* a Drunkard, so *Demosthenes* lashes the Debauchery, Drunkenness and Buffoonry of King *Philip*; and, as the *Poet* says,

————— ^a 'Tis an auspicious Sign, ———

*Whengallant Heroes fight their country's Cause
And stake their Lives for Glory and Applause.*

What can be more like than this Sentence of the Orator, *That brave Men ought to defend their Country with great Hopes?* So this Verse of *Homer*,

^b *How would the venerable Peleus mourn,*
has a near Resemblance with this Passage of *Demosthenes*, *How would these gallant Men be afflicted, who sacrificed their Lives to Glory and the Liberty of their Country.* I often make a Parallel between the flowing

^a *Homer, Iliad the 12th.*

^b *Iliad the 7th.*

^c The *ὑφαιδὲς λεγών* is very well explained by *Pliny*, in his 20th Epistle of his 1st Book, *Oratio similis nivibus hybernis, id est creta, assidua, larga*: A Style like to the Winter-Snow; that is, a copious, large, diffused Style.

Style of *Python* and the copious Stream of *Ulysses's* Eloquence. Thus I compare these Lines of *Homer*:

▪ *Could we live on, still warm with youthful Rage,
In the full Vigour of our blooming Age;
Could aught our unrelenting Fate delay;
Durst we the awful Summons disobey,
And plead Exemption from Mortality——
But oh! these Hopes are vain, and all must go
To endless Joys above, or endless Pains below.*

With this Thought of the Orator, *Death* is the utmost Limit, and the last Extremity of our Lives, and we should infallibly dye, tho' we shut up our selves in a Cloister: In short, there are a thousand Places where these great Geniuses have almost the same Thoughts and Words. How delicately has *Demosthenes* touched the Passions; how am I moved and affected with his Speeches; the Justness of his Figures; the Purity of his Words; his entertaining Digressions, and agreeable Returns from them; the Elegance and Beauty of his Similies; that Spirit and Mettle which never tires, and the Warmth that enlivens his Discourse, do at once ravish and

▪ *Iliad the 12th.*

amaze me. And, to own the Truth, I am of Opinion that when the Softness and Degeneracy of the *Athenians* had armed him with a just Fury, when he let loose all the Reins to his Satire, he has more severely lashed the Sloth and Cowardise of his Countrymen than *Homer* has done by calling them Women. He describes the Tumults and Disorders of *Greece* in a more lively animated manner than *Homer*, who weakens and enervates the Force of his Poem, by introducing his Heroes and Men of Courage making long tedious Speeches in the Heat of the Fight. And very often the Numbers of *Demosthenes*, the Cadence of his Periods, and the Sweetness of his Style, have all the Musick and Harmony of Poetry. As *Homer*, on the other side, has very beautiful Antithesises and Similies, the Boldness and the Purity of his Figures have all the Strength of Prose, and he seems to have added every Improvement of Art to all the Advantages of Nature: And, after this, do you imagine, that I entertain a slender Opinion of Eloquence? Not but I still think it infinitely harder to make a *Panegyrick* upon *Homer* than *Demosthenes*; not so much upon the

score

120 Lucian's *Panegyrick upon Demosthenes*.
 score of the Verses, and the Difficulty in
 composing them, as the Narrowness of the
 Subject; for *Homer's* Poetry is the only thing
 can be praised in him, because we are unac-
 quainted with his Country, Descent, and
 Age he lived in: For the knowledge of that
 would put an end to the Disputes which
 have been so long kept on foot between *Co-*
lophon, *Lumæ*, the *Egyptian Thebes*, *Smirna*,
 and innumerable other Cities, which all
 make the same Pretensions to his Birth.
 Some make *Mæon* a *Lydian*, to be his Fa-
 ther, or a *River* of the same Name, and his
 Mother to be *Menalope*, or a Nymph of the
Dryades; and thus, for want of a human De-
 scent, are forced to consecrate his Original.
 Nor are we agreed in what Age he lived,
 whether in the *Ionick* or *Heroick*. Nor is
 it yet settled whether he is ancients than
Hesiod; for the Name *Melissigenes* is gene-
 rally preferred to the other Name which he
 usually bears. His Fortune, Blindness, and
 Poverty, being so very obscure, are Topicks
 not to be insisted on. Thus you see, Sir,
 how much I am straitened in my Theme;
 how I am obliged to take an imperfect
of *Smirna*, in the Greek 'tis *σμιρνα*; but *Grevius* reads *απλη*.
 Draught

Draught of his Merit from his Poetry alone. But your Subject affords you a large and open Career; you are to treat of Things known and certain, and only want Words, like Sauce to Meat, to furnish out the Entertainment. For had not *Demosthenes* all the Advantages of Fortune? Was he not born in *Athens*, that rich and celebrated City, the great Theatre of all *Greece*, and the Bulwark of the Country? Had I *Athens* for my Theme, by a Poetical Liberty I could introduce the Loves of the Gods, their Judgments, their Abodes, their Gifts, and Eleusine^b. On the other hand, their Laws, their Words of Judicature, and Assemblies, their Decrees, ^c *Piræus*, their Colonies, and Triumphs by Sea and Land, would be so vast a Field, that *Demosthenes* himself, with his inimitable Eloquence, would scarce be able to write up to the Dignity of the Subject.

Nor would I think all this foreign to the Subject, since 'tis an allowed Law of *Panegyrick*, that the Country of a *Heroe* is a common Place from which he may be praised.

^b Sacred Rites in Honour of *Ceres*.

^c *Piræus*, the Port of *Athens*. *Strabo*, lib. 9.

Thus *Isocrates*, in his Elogy of *Helen*, has inserted the Praise of *Theseus*, by way of Appendix. And Poets may have Liberties allowed them beyond the Severity of Prose. But you have such a large Field, that you have reason to fear being reproached with the old Proverb, *That your Epigram is larger than the Desk*. Passing from his Country, your next Topick will be his Father, that *Admiral* of the Fleet, a *golden Foundation for Praise*, says *Pindar*. For the Command of the Fleet, was the highest Employment in the State. That he lost his Father in his tender Age, is so far from being a Misfortune, that it served only to heighten his Glory, and gave him an Opportunity of displaying and exerting his wonderful Parts. Historians have not delivered down to us the Education and Studies of *Homer*, which furnishing us with no Matter, we shall be forced to have immediate recourse to his Poetry, nor take the liberty of flying to the Laurel of *Hesiod*, with inspired Verses to the Shepherds themselves. But you have a long Race of Orators, *Isæus*, *Callistratus*, *Alcidamas*, *Isocrates*, and *Eubulis*, to supply you with Matter; and, above all, the Prudence and
good

good Conduct of *Demosthenes*, in avoiding all the Debaucheries of Youth. For tho' *Athens* was the Seat of Pleasure, and abounded in all the Entertainments and Allurements, which are so passionately courted by all young Men, even those who live under the Check and Restraint of a Father, and tho' their Inclinations naturally lead them on to the Pursuit of Pleasure, tho' the Negligence of his Master gave him an Opportunity of running into all the criminal Excesses of Youth; yet of his own Accord, he chose a more generous Career, and the Love of *Civil Virtue* and *Philosophy* hindered him from engaging himself in evil Courses. 'Twas a manly and rational Love that did not lead him to *Phryne* the Courtisan, but to the Lectures and Auditories of *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Theophrastus*, and *Xenocrates*. Upon this Subject, Sir, you may exercise your Philosophy, and prove, there are two sorts of Love, one a brutal, head-strong Passion, a wild Fury, that knows no Bounds, no Restraint, a tumultuous Frenzy, that rages in young Men; in short, the common ordinary Lust, that bears the Marks of its first Original, and is of a Piece with the Sea that begot

it. ^b The other is a sacred Love, produced by the gentle Attraction of the divine Chain; 'tis a Flame kindled from Heaven, not an incurable Disease, made by imaginary Darts and Fires, 'tis a calm governable Fury, which none but Souls, nearly allied to Heaven, as the *Tragedian* says, are inspired with; this carries us on to contemplate and adore the Standard of all Beauty, the *Divine Nature*. This Love made *Demosthenes* master all the Difficulties of his Study, made him patiently submit to have his Head shaved, to shut himself up in a Cave, to correct the Errors of his Motions and Gestures in his Glass, to form his Elocution in his declining Age, exercise his Memory, bear unconcernedly the Clamours of the Croud, and study whole Days and Nights together. From hence 'tis visible how great a Master he must needs be in the Art of Speaking, especially if we well consider the Beauty of his Thoughts and the Style, the Strength and Cogency of his Arguments, with his Address in moving the Passions, the Floridness and Elevation, the Majesty and the Vehemence of his Expressions, the Variety of

Τὴν ἑρμηνείαν συντάξας ἔλκει.

his

his Figures, and his Judgment in retrenching all the empty Pomp of Words and Sentences; insomuch that *Levethenes* stuck not to say, that *Demosthenes* was the only Orator, whose Speeches were not ^a beaten out on the Anvil, but animated with a reasonable Soul. For *Demosthenes* did not compose his Orations, as *Callisthenes* said *Æschylus* did his Tragedies in the Heat of a Debauch, but with all the Coolness and Temperance imaginable, and prepared himself only by drinking Water: Which gave occasion to the Jest of *Demades*, That other Orators spoke by the ^b Water, but he writ by it. And *Pytheus* used to say, That the Applause which was given to his Speeches, smelt of the Lamp. This, Sir, is the only common Topick we have for the Praise of both our Authors; for I must do *Homer's* Poetry the same Justice I have done *Demosthenes's* Eloquence, nor does it less deserve my Commendation.

^a *Grævius* reads it, not *ἰ σφυγματος*, but *ἰ*; and then it must be englished a strong masculine Style.

^b *Lucian* alludes to the *Clepsydra*, or Water Hour-glasses of the Ancients, which their Orators pleaded by, as appears from this Verse of *Marzial*,

Septem Clepsydras magna viva voce retenti.

But if you pass from his Eloquence, to his good Nature and Justice, to his unwearied Industry and Dexterity in the Management of Affairs, to his — He was going on with his Discourse, when I interrupted him, laughing: What do you mean, Sir, to overwhelm me with a Torrent of Words? When I consider, replied *Thersagoras*, his publick Entertainments of the People, his voluntary Contributions to the Games, the Ditch and Wall he made, his Government of the Fleet, his Embassies, ransoming the Captives, marrying the poor Maids at his own Charge, his Laws, his Administration of the State, and his immortal Actions, I am amazed to hear any one say, that he wants Matter for a *Panegyrick* on *Demosthenes*. And why, of all the Orators, replied I, do you think me the only one who is a Stranger to the Merit of *Demosthenes*? But you must own, replied *Thersagoras*, that you have need of great Assistance and Support, to hinder you from sinking below the Dignity of such a Subject. *Demosthenes* should be approached with a religious Awe, as if you are not well prepared; you may be dazzled with the Appearance of so much Bright-

Brightness, nor be able to gaze steadily on it. Which beset me in the first Essays of my Poem upon *Homer*, and a just Sense of my own Weakness had discouraged me from so bold an Attempt; but I took Courage, by accustoming my self to look on the Object; and lest by turning away my Eyes from so glaring a Light, I should forfeit my Pretensions to my Dalliance with *Homer*, and be thought a degenerate Off-spring. But your Task is easier than mine; for the Poetry of *Homer* being the only Topick he can be commended from, 'tis absolutely necessary to form an universal Idea of it, and thoroughly to comprehend all its Beauties. But 'tis quite otherwise with *Demosthenes*; for were you to give a just and full Character of all his Virtues and Excellencies, you would lye under a Difficulty in so copious a Subject, with what good Quality you should begin. You would be like an *Epicure* at a great Feast, or a *Spectator* that has a thousand Objects in View, where the Variety of his Prospect hinders him from fin-

* He alludes to the old Story of the Eagle's trying its young ones, by turning their Eyes to the Sun. *Pliny*, lib. 10.

gling out any one in particular. Thus it would fare with you, and you would be at a loss, whether you should make choice of the greatness of his Mind, the vivacity of his Wit, his Temperance, Eloquence, Courage, Justice, Humanity, Integrity, Prudence, generous Contempt of Money, or any of his great Services to the State. On the other hand, his Decrees, Embassies, Speeches, Laws, the Fleets he equipped, *Eubæa*, *Megara*, *Bæotia*, *Chios*, *Rhodes*, the *Hellepont*, and *Byzantium*, would be an inexhaustible Fund for *Panegyrick*. In so wide a Theme, the Plenty would create a Want, and your Imagination would be divided and distracted by the Variety of Objects, as beset *Pindar* in one of his Odes:

*Shall my Muse sing Ismenus, noble Stream?
Or shall the lovely Melia be my Theme?
Or Cadmus? Or the Race of Warriors, grown
Out of the Glebe where Dragons Teeth were sown?
Shall Thebes the Subject of my Verse afford?
Or the fam'd Conquests of Alcides, Sword?
Shall the great God of Wine inspire my Tongue?
Or fair Harmonia's Nuptials grace my Song?*

Thus like *Pindar*, you would be at a stand, whether you should praise his Eloquence,

his Speeches, his great Performances, Authority, Philosophy, or his glorious Death: But this may be easily remedied, by singling out any particular Excellency; as for Instance, his Eloquence, and pursuing it closely. And this Part may receive all its due heightning, by being compared with that of *Pericles*. This Eloquence, 'tis said, like a Torrent, bore down all before it, and had something so engaging and forcible, as was not to be resisted; but this we have only by Hearsay, for his Works we never saw. From whence 'tis plain, his Eloquence had but an imaginary Foundation, since it could not stand the Test and Examination of Posterity; whereas the Writings of *Demosthenes* are still extant: But the Consideration of this Subject I leave to you, if you design to handle it. If you descend to his Manners and Actions, it will be necessary to cull out one particular Topick, or two or three, if you would enlarge, and the Greatness and Nobleness of the Subject will afford Matter enough for all the Colours of *Rhetorick*. And tho' we do not praise all the Virtues of *Demosthenes*, but only part of them, we may justify our Practice by the

Example

Example of *Homer*, who very often contents himself with praising only the Parts of his *Heroes*, as their Heads, their Feet, their Hair, their Cloaths, or their Shields. Nor do the *Gods* themselves disdain the humble Praises which Poets give their Distaffs and Shields, much less those which are drawn from any Part of their Bodies or Souls: *For they are too great Benefactors to Mankind to have all their Favours and Blessings extolled at once.* Nor will *Demosthenes*, I hope, take it ill, if we single out any one of his Virtues for our Theme, when he himself, with the whole Force of his Eloquence, was not capable of raising all to their just Height. He was going on, when replied I, *Thersagoras*, you have praised *Demosthenes*, to let me see, that you are not only a very good Poet, but a good Orator too. I did it, says *Thersagoras*, only to divert your Thoughts, and put you in a good Humour, that you might patiently hear me repeat my Poem. If that was your Design, replied I, you have taken a wrong Course. Then it seems, answered he, I have made use of an excellent Medicine. Sir, said I, you do not know what ails me, and like an ignorant

rant Physician, mistake the Patient's Disease, and prescribe a Course of Physick proper for another Distemper: You have given Rules for a Novice, not for a Man who has been trained up for many Years in the Art of Speaking, and for that Reason your Remedies are useless. I thought, said *Thersagoras*, that Remedies had been like Roads, the more common, the more safe. You mistake my Humour, replied I: For my part, I would not imitate *Anniceris* the Cyrenean, the Rival of the Glory of *Plato* and his Scholars; who, to shew his Address in driving a Chariot, drove several Courses round the *Academy*, all in the very same Track. I am for steering another Course. But, says *Thersagoras*, 'tis no easy Matter to find out a new Way, unless you are pleas'd with the Conduct of *Pauson* the Painter. Pray what was that, said I, for I never heard the Story? When he was ordered to draw a Horse, rolling himself in the Dust, he painted him running full speed, covered all over with Dust; and, before the Piece was finished, the Gentleman, who bespoke it, coming to see it, was very angry with him for not drawing it in the Posture
he

he designed ; then *Pauson* bid his Boy turn the Piece upside down, and a Horse was seen tumbling in the Dust. You are pleasant, replied I, to imagine, that I have been so many Years contriving this one Turn, when you ought rather to believe, that when I had tried all the Changes imaginable, it fared with me as with *Proteus*, who, when he had turned himself into a thousand Shapes, into all Beasts, Plants and Elements, to avoid the Sight of Man, for want of a foreign Shape, was at last constrained to re-assume his own. But you, answered he, have made more Turns than ever he did, and all to avoid the Trouble of a repeating Poet. No, says I, for laying aside all Thoughts of my *Panegyrick*, I'll give you Audience, and perhaps, when you are no longer in Pain for your own Birth, you will take Care of mine. Then we sate down on the next Bank, where he read me his admirable Poem upon *Homer* ; in the middle he broke off, and, like a Man inspired, shutting his Book, says he, I'll pay you the Tribute of your Attention, as the People at *Athens* have Money for their Attendance at their Assemblies, and the solemn Days of Judicature. But you must

must first take care to thank me. I must, replied I, know the Favour, before I pay the Thanks. You must understand, said *Thersagoras*, that I accidentally met with some Memoirs of the Royal House of *Macedon*, which I read over with great Pleasure, and with much ado got the Book, and have it now in my Hands: 'Tis an Account of some Domestick Affairs of *Antipater*; and, among other things, some Account of *Demosthenes*, which you will be glad to learn. I thank you, said I, for your good News, and will hear the rest of your Verses. Nor will I leave you, till you make good your Promise: You have entertained me very well with your Encomium on *Homer's* Birthday, and I hope you'll do the same on that of *Demosthenes*. Then he finished his Poem, and I staid to praise it, and went to his Lodgings with him; where, after a great Search, he found the Book, and gave it me to carry home; I perused it carefully, and, without making any Alterations, I resolved to read it over to you *verbatim*: For, believe me, *Æsculapius* is not less honoured by a Poem of *Alisodemus* the *Trezenian*, or *Sophocles's* song on his Festivals, than if a new one

one were made by those who sacrifice to him. The Custom of making Tragedies and Comedies in Honour of *Bacchus*, is now left off; and other Compositions, if seasonably applied, and well represented, have as favourable an Acceptance as those. That Part of the Memoirs which relates to *Demosthenes*, is written by Way of Dialogue, betwixt *Antipater* and *Archias*, and begins with the Advice *Antipater* received of *Archias's* Arrival. This *Archias*, if any young Man is unacquainted with the Story, was he whom the King had commanded to apprehend the banished Men of *Athens*, and had received Orders by Letters from *Antipater* to use no Violence to *Demosthenes*, but to persuade him to come from ^a *Calauria* into *Macedon* to him. *Antipater*, who had entertained great Hopes of the taking of *Demosthenes*, waited with Pain for his Arrival. And when the News was brought him, that *Archias* was coming from *Calauria*, he ordered him to be introduced to him; what passed afterwards, I'll repeat to you in the Words of the Book. God save you, *Anti-*

^a *Calauria*, a little Island in the *Ægean* Sea, over-against *Troesen* in *Peloponnesus*.

pater,

pater, says *Archias*. I must be safe, said *Antipater*, if you have brought me *Demosthenes*. I have brought you, says *Archias*, what I could of him; for here is his Urn, in which are his Ashes. You have strangely disappointed me, replied *Antipater*; for what shall I do with his Ashes and Bones? Sir, replied *Archias*, in spite of all the Arguments I could use with him, I found him obstinately resolved not to surrender himself alive. Says *Antipater*, Could you not corrupt him with Money, which you might have had from *Bæotia*, or my Treasury here? But, as I remember, King *Philip* used to say, That the Virtue of *Demosthenes* was Proof against all Bribery, and that it was easier to take *Byzantium* by Storm, than corrupt *Demosthenes* with Money. If there was any Minister at *Athens*, continued King *Philip*, who would betray the Liberty of his Country, and sacrifice the Publick to his own private Interests, I would spare no Money to gain him over to my Party; but, at the same time, I should never consider him as my Friend; but if any one generously espoused the Quarrel of his Country, and was my Enemy on the Publick Score, I would make

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an open War upon him, as I would force
a Castle or a Rampart; but in spite of his
Enmity, I should adore his Virtue, and en-
vy the Happiness of a City, that had pro-
duced such a Man. *But I would ruin a*
Traytor, when I had no farther occasion for
his Service. I would willingly exchange
all my Illyrian and Triballian Horse, and
all my Mercenary Troops, for a Man of
such Honour and Integrity as *Demosthenes.*
A Man of Sense and Judgment, and a Ma-
ster in the Art of Speaking, is as good as a
numerous Army. This King *Philip* spoke
to *Parmenio.* Another time, when I was
apprehensive of the Army the *Athenians* had
sent out under the Command of *Diopithes,*
he burst out into a Fit of Laughter, and said,
What, *Antipater,* are you afraid of an *A-*
thenian Army and General? I never dread-
ed their Fleets, nor Ports, nor Citadels: For
what mighty Performances can you expect
from an Army never inured to War, who
have been trained up by the Arts of Peace
and Luxury, and softened by a long Course
of Pleasure and Debauchery. Were *Demos-*
thenes once removed from *Athens,* I would
make my self Master of it by open Force
or

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or Treachery, with more Ease than I did of *Thebes* and *Thessaly*. *Demosthenes* is still upon his Guard, and has an Eye upon all my Motions; he defeats all my Designs, breaks all my Measures, and disappoints all my Enterprizes. He is acquainted with all my Counsels, all my Artifices, and all my Stratagems: He out-wits me in Contrivance, over-reaches me in Management, and over-matches me in plain Force. In a word, he is the only Rub that lies in the Way of all my Victories, and hinders me from over-running all *Greece*. What Man could do, he did, to oppose my taking of *Amphipolis*, *Olynthus*, *Phocæa*, *Pylæ*, *Chersonesus*, and the Coasts of the *Hellepont*. He revived the drooping Spirits of the *Athenians*; he animated them with fresh Vigour, and awakened them from their ^a Lethargy. He retrenched all the useless Expences they were at in their Theatres and Sports; he severely reprimanded their Baseness and Effeminacy; he repaired their Naval Forces, which were almost ruined by the Neglect of the Marine Laws; he raised the Reputation of the City, which was declined from its former Gran-

^a In the *Greek* it is *in πανδημίου νουθεσίᾳ*, for *Mat-drakes*, as *lib. 25.* assures us.

L

deur;

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deur; he rouzed the *Athenians* to a noble
Emulation of the ancient Battles of *Marathon* and *Salamine*; he spurred them on to
outvie the Glory of their Ancestors; he
united all *Greece* into a common Confede-
racy against me. *Demosthenes* is not to be
deceived nor imposed on, nor to be wrought
on by Money, and is as firm against Cor-
ruption, as ever *Aristides* was against the
Persians; and holds the same Rank among
the modern *Athenians*, as *Pericles* and *The-
mistocles* did among the Ancients, and has
added all the Greatness of Mind of the first
to the Prudence of the latter: To his good
Conduct the *Athenians* owe the Reduction
of *Eubœa*, *Megara*, *Bœotia*, and the Coast
of *Hellespont*. I am pleased with their Wis-
dom, in making *Phares*, *Diopithes*, and
Proxenus, and such as these Generals, and
in keeping *Demosthenes* at home to ha-
rangue the People. Were he once but whol-
ly entrusted with the Management of their
Affairs, and the Disposal of the Revenue,
their Fleet and their Army, I should be in
Pain for *Macedonia* it self. For now, tho'
at a distance, he makes a vigorous War up-
on me with his Decrees, raises Troops and
Money,

Money, and attacks us on every side. This King *Philip* often said. But why, *Archias*, did not you take him alive? I did, Sir, says *Archias*. Did he dye by the way? says *Antipater*. No, replied *Archias*; but in *Calauria*. Perhaps it was occasioned by their Negligence, in not taking Care of him, said *Antipater*. No, replied *Archias*, he was never in our Power: You speak in Riddles, says *Antipater*; What! did you take him, and not have him in your Power? Did not you give me your Order, replied *Archias*, to use no Violence with him? tho' that would have been ineffectual. Perhaps you killed him your selves, said *Antipater*. No, answered *Archias*, tho' indeed when all other Methods failed, we were obliged to have recourse to Force. But, pray Sir, what would you have done with *Demosthenes*? I presume that you would have put him to death. God forbid, replied *Antipater*; you seem unacquainted with his Deserts, and the Value I had for his Merit; and make no distinction between the taking of *Demosthenes*, and the taking of such infamous Wretches, as *Phalereus* the *Hiperian*, *Aristonicus* the *Marathonian*, and *Eucrates*: These Men had no true Merit; but

owed their short-lived Greatness to a popular Faction; like Rivers swoln with Rain, they bore all before them for a small time; grew bold and daring, under the Favour of a Tumult and Sedition; but trembled, like an Evening-Blast of Wind, at the least Appearance of Danger. *Hyperides* is another of the same Stamp, who, in spite of all the Restraints of Honour, Shame and Friendship, stuck not to draw up a false Accusation against *Demosthenes*, the better to insinuate himself into the Favour of the People, and acted a Crime which those very Men, whose Pandar he was, immediately repented of, as appears from their recalling *Demosthenes*, and granting him a more glorious Return from his Banishment, than ever *Alcibiades* had. But this Villain, who charged *Demosthenes* with such an imaginary Crime, ought to have his Tongue cut out, for being prostituted in such an infamous Cause. But was not *Demosthenes*, says *Archias*, the Man of all your Enemies, to whom you bore the greatest Aversion? No, answered *Antipater*, for I value Integrity, Honour, and Courage, wheresoever I find it, and adore a gallant Enemy. Nor am I less generous

generous than *Xerxes*, who released the brave *Spartans*, *Bulis* and *Sperchies*^a, in Admiration of their Virtue. But of all Men in the World, I would have pardoned *Demosthenes*, upon the account of the little Acquaintance I had with him at *Athens*, where I saw him twice, and for what I have heard others relate of him. I admire him not so much for his Eloquence, as his inimitable Conduct in the Government of the State, tho' his Eloquence is matchless; and *Pytho*n, and the rest of the *Athenian* Orators, cannot pretend to vie with the masculine Vigour of his Speeches, the beautiful Turn of his Periods, his Action and Pronunciation, the Force of his Arguments, and his happy Talent in moving an Audience, and drawing them over to what Party he pleased. And for that reason, when *Pytho*n's great Promise had prevailed upon me to appoint a general Meeting of the *Greeks* at *Athens*, to accuse the *Athenians*, I repented of it, after I heard the Arguments of *Demosthenes*, whose Eloquence is irresistibly prevalent; which I place in the second Rank

^a *Bulis* and *Sperchies*. This Story is at large in the 7th Book of *Herodotus*, and is too large to insert here.

of his good Qualities, as being an excellent Instrument to bring about the greatest Designs. But I was infinitely more charmed with his Conduct and Prudence, and that particular Steadiness of Mind, which supported him under all Turns and Revolutions, and never suffered him to be shocked with the least Apprehension of Danger. King *Philip* entertained the same favourable Opinion of him; and I remember, that when he had received one of *Demosthenes's* invective Oration against him, and *Parmenio* stormed and railed at him, *Demosthenes*, says King *Philip*, is the only Man who deserves to speak freely: For all the other Orators of *Greece* are in my Pay, tho' I would rather trust him, than the Secretaries of my Navy, ^b who are only charged to provide Gold, Wood, my Revenue, my Herds and Corn. But he man's out great Fleets, raises Armies, and opposes me vigorously. Such an advantageous Character have I often heard King *Philip* give of *Demosthenes*, and he reckoned it the greatest Happiness which ever befel him, that *Demosthenes* was not General of the

^b This is a very obscure Place, I therefore leave the Reader to explain it as he pleases.

Army,

Army, whose very Speeches, like so many Engines and Battering-rams, ruined all his Designs; and he often repeated the great Danger he had been exposed to in the Bat-tel of *Cheronea*, by the admirable Conduct of *Demosthenes*: For if the Unskillfulness of the *Athenian* Generals, and the ill Manage-ment of their Army, seconded by his good Fortune, which so often favoured him, had not all contributed to give him the Victo-ry, he must have run the Hazard of losing his Life and Kingdom, which were both staked upon the Success of that Battle. He had, says King *Philip*, joined all the Pow-er of *Greece* into one common Alliance a-gainst me, and drawn together all the Forces of the *Corinthians*, *Thebans*, *Bæotians*, *Eu-beans*, and *Mogarians*, to dispute my Pas-sage into *Attica*. These were the Discourses King *Philip* continually had of *Demosthe-nes*. And when he was told, That the State of *Athens* was the only Rival of his Great-ness, he made answer, That *Demosthenes* was his only Rival. For without him the *Athenians* would be no more than the *Thes-salians* and the *Enianenses*. Whenever he sent an Embassy to a City, if the *Athe-*

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nians sent any other, but *Demosthenes*, he usually prevailed; but if *Demosthenes* was present, he gave his Cause over, and all hopes of Success: For, says he, the Eloquence of *Demosthenes* is invincible, and can never be withstood. And, after all this, *Archias*, do you imagine, that I, who am so infinitely inferior to *Philip* in all respects, if I had so gallant a Man in my Power, would lead him like an Ox to the Slaughter? No, *Archias*, I would make him my Minister of State and trust him with the Administration of the Affairs of *Greece*. I had always a personal Kindness for *Demosthenes*, in regard of his great Actions, and was confirmed in my good Opinion of him by the honourable Character *Aristotle* gave of his Merit, who often brought him to visit *Alexander* and me; and has assured us, that among all those great Men, who made their Court to him, he admired none so much as *Demosthenes*, for his wonderful Capacity, Readiness of Wit, Temperance, Freedom and Firmness. You, said *Aristotle*, entertain the same Opinion of him as you do of *Eubolus*, *Phrynon*, and *Philocrates*, and go about to corrupt a Man that is so obstinately virtuous, one that has spent all his Estate upon

upon the Publick, and in relieving his private Friends : And when that Method fails, you think to awe him into a Compliance, not considering, that he is resolved not to outlive his Country, but be buried in its Ruins. You resent every little Reflection of *Demosthenes* upon you, as the utmost Indignity, without observing, that he uses his own Countrymen no better, and is not apprehensive of their Anger. You are ignorant, that a Sense of Honour, and a true Love of his Country, has engaged him in the publick Service, and that he considers his Ministry as a Course of Philosophy. These are the Advantages I propos'd to my self by the Conversation of such a Man, to hear him deliver his Opinion without Reserve or Disguise, to give me Counsels with Candour and Sincerity, instead of the fulsome Flatteries of mercenary Courtiers, *which always attend the Counsels of Princes, and are their Ruine and Destruction*. The only Thing to be censured in his Conduct, is his sacrificing his Life for such ungrateful Citizens, when his Virtue might have challenged the Friendship and Favour of others, who would have made him more generous Returns for

his Services. In other Matters, replied *Archias*, you might have wrought upon *Demosthenes*; but he was too passionate a Lover of his Country, to quit its Interests upon any Terms. 'Tis true, replied *Antipater*: But pray let me hear the Particulars of his Death. That, answered *Archias*, will surprize you more than all the rest: For we, who were present, were as much amazed at so incredible an Action as those who were not Eye-witnesses of it. For it was evident, from the Preparation he had made, that it was a Design which he had formed long ago. He sat in the inner-part of the Temple, and I talked with him to no purpose for several Days together. What was the Subject, said *Antipater*, of your Discourse? I made him very fair Offers, gave him an Assurance of your Pardon, not that I imagined you would make my Promise good, for I did not at that time know your Resolution: On the contrary, I thought you extreamly incensed against him, but I believed that would be the most effectual Way to prevail upon him. How did he receive your Discourse, says *Antipater*? Give me a full Account of your Conference with him.

him. Would to God I had been present. For the last Behaviour and dying Speeches of such a great Man, are of vast Concern. Did he betray any Marks of Fear? Did he retain his usual Courage and Firmness? Yes, he did, replied *Archias*. He laughed at me very pleasantly, and told me I was an ill Actor of your Lies. Then, it seems, he did not believe your Promises; and that was the reason of his Death. Sir, replied *Archias*, if you will hear me out, you will find, that he had other Thoughts. He answered me, that the Proceedings of the *Macedonians* were not new and surprizing to him; and that it was no Wonder they had taken him as they had taken *Amphipolis*, *Olynthus* and *Oropus*. This and much more he said: For we had Writers by to take all his Discourse, that you might know all the Particulars. The Fear of Death and Tortures, said *Demosthenes*, was the reason why I would not surrender my self to *Antipater*; but, if you speak truth, I have more reason than ever to be extreamly cautious of it, for fear of having my Integrity corrupted, and being wrought upon to betray the *Grecian Cause* and Interest of my Country, by joining with

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the Macedonians. Shall I, who have so long
still pleaded the Cause of Greece, submit to
such infamous Terms, and pay down my Li-
berty for a Ransom of my Life? It is bet-
ter to dye gloriously, than live scandalously.
I cannot do it without a Reflection upon my
Fame. *Pyraeus*, and the Galley I built, and
the Ditch and Walls I erected at my own
Charge, and the Tribe *Pandionis*, which
I relieved by my voluntary Expence: And
Solon and *Draco*, the Freedom of the Peo-
ple, and the *Rostrum*, which they owe to
me, the naval and military Wreaths I ob-
tained, with the glorious Actions of my An-
cestors, and their Trophies, and the univer-
sal Love of my Fellow-citizens, who have
so often crowned me, and the Power of
Greece, which hitherto I have preserved.
Were I reduced to the Necessity of owing
my Life to the Mercy of others, tho' it
would be a criminal Meanness in me to
accept it, but at least it would be fitter for me
to receive it from the Hands of my Fellow-
citizens, whose Prisoners I redeemed, whose
Daughters I have married at my own Ex-
pence, and whose Wants I supplied. But
if neither the Sea, nor the Command of the
Islands

Islands which I have borne can secure me, in my last Extremity, I appeal to *Neptune*, and beg the Assistance of these Altars, and the Protection of this awful Sanctuary. But if *Neptune* cannot defend the Privileges of his Temple, and is not ashamed to betray his Votary to *Archias*, I will dye, rather than ever be guilty of any unmanly Compliance with *Antipater*. It is in my Power to make my Peace with the *Macedonians*, and be as happy as you are, if I would follow the Example of *Cathemedon*, *Pytheas*, and *Domades*. But I have too much Reverence for the Memory of *Codrus*, and the Daughters of ^a *Eretheus*, to buy my Life at the Expence of my Freedom. I will continue firm to my Duty, nor desert my Country, because Fortune has. An honourable Death is the best Refuge of the Unfortunate. I would not willingly dishonour my Country by any Baseness, nor submit to a voluntary Slavery; I am resolved not to out-live my Liberty, but perish in the Defence of so valuable a Prize, which is the best worth living for, and the best worth dying for. I presume you, who

^a The Daughters of *Eretheus*, who died willingly for their Country. Tully, *de Naturâ Deor.* lib. 3.

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have been an Actor, have not forgot that
memorable Place of the Tragedian :

*The Royal Maid *, when she was led to dye,
Utter'd no Groan, nor an unmanly Sigh,
And with a dauntless Courage met the Blow*
[half-way.

———— But decently took Care,
*That no unhallow'd sacrilegious Eye
Her dead unguarded Beauties should descry,
Then unconcernedly fell, &c.*

Euripides in Hecuba.

After so brave an Action of a Woman, how
infamous would it be for *Demosthenes*, to
forget the Discourses of *Xenocrates* and *Plato*,
on the *Immortality* of the *Soul*, and prefer
an inglorious Life to an honourable Death?
After this, he broke out into a Passion, and
said something very severe upon those who
insult over the Miserable, which it is needless
to report. At last, after I had used fair Means
and foul, and added Threats to my Prayers,
he made no other Answer, but that if he
was *Archias*, he might probably be persuad-
ed, but since he was *Demosthenes*, he told
me I must pardon him, if he had too much

* Polyxena.

Honour

Honour to comply with me. Then I resolved to force him out of the Temple; which, as soon as he perceived, he laughed at me; and looking upon the *God*, You imagine, *Archias*, says he, that Armies and Castles are the only secure Retreats of Life, and despising small Preparations, which the *Illyrians*, *Triballians*, and *Macedonians*, with all their Forces, shall never be able to conquer. 'Tis a safer Refuge than our ^a wooden Wall, which *Apollo* himself assured us was impregnable. The same Courage and Prudence that secured me in the Government of the State, shall protect me against the *Macedonians*. I never feared *Eutemon*, *Aristogiton*, *Pytheas*, or *Castimedon*, nor *Philip* himself; nor do I now fear you. Pray, Sir, use no Violence with me; I would not have the Temple profaned; I will make my Prayers to the *God*, and follow you immediately. I believed him. Then he laid his Hand on his Mouth, and I imagined he was silently adoring the *God*: But, as I was afterwards informed, by a Maid, whom he put upon the Rack, he had kept Poison by him for a long time, in case of any Extremity, and

^a The wooden Walls. *Herodotus*, lib. 7.

swallowed

swallowed it, when we thought him employed in his Devotions. He was not quite out of the Temple, when, looking upon me, he said, *Archias*, you may carry this mouldring Carcass to *Antipater*; but you shall never carry *Demosthenes*; No, by all those — I believe he was about to add, by all those Men who died in the Battle of *Marathon*. He had just time to bid me Farewel, and then expired.

This, Sir, is the Issue of my Conference with *Demosthenes*. Is this the End of *Demosthenes*? replied *Antipater*. How I admire his invincible Courage; How glorious, how god-like an Action was it! How providently he took Care to keep in his Power the ^b Pledge and Guardian of Liberty! But if there is a Reward for Virtue, we cannot, without arraigning the Divine Justice, doubt, but that he is gone to the happy Islands, or to the Eternal Abodes of the Blessed, to be there made a *God*, and live for ever with *Jupiter* ^c the Deliverer. As for his Body, I will send it to *Athens*, where it will be a nobler Ornament to his Country, than the Monuments of all those Heroes that died in the Battle of *Marathon*.

^b *The Poyson.*

^c *Ἐλευθερίου Διός, Jupiter the Deliverer.*

T H E E N D.

AN
A R G U M E N T
S H E W I N G

That a *Standing Army* is inconsistent
with a *Free Government*, and abso-
lutely destructive to the CONSTITU-
TION of the *English* MONARCHY.

Printed in the Year 1697.

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and

DEDICATION,

To all those * whom it may concern.

Qui capit, ille facit.

WHen I consider your great Zeal for your Country, how much you have exposed your selves for its Service, and how little you have improved your own Fortunes, I think it is but Justice to your Merits to make your Encomiums the Preface to the following Discourse. It is you that have abated the Pride, and reduced the Luxury of the Kingdom: You have been the Physicians and Divines of the Commonwealth, by purging it of that Dross

* i. e. Courtiers,

and Dung, which corrupt the Minds, and destroy the Souls of Men. You have convinced us, that there is no Safety in Counsellors, nor Trust to be put in Ships under your Conduct.

You have cleared the Seas, not of *Pyrates*, but of our own *Merchants*, and by that means have made our Prisons as so many Store-houses to replenish your Troops. In fine, to use the Expression of the Psalmist, Your Hearts are unsearchable for *Wisdom*, and there is no finding out your *Understanding*. When I consider all this, and compare your Merits with your Preferments, how you came by them, and your Behaviour in them, I cannot but think a Standing Army a collateral Security of your Title to them, and therefore must commend your Policy in promoting it. For by these *Kings* reign, and *Princes* decree

decree Justice. These will be our Magistrates, who will not bear the Sword in vain. These like the Sons of *Aaron*, will wear their *Urim* and *Thummim* on their Backs and Breasts, and will be our Priests, who will hew the Sinners to pieces, as *Samuel* did *Agag* before the Lord in *Gilgal*. By these you will be able to teach us Passive Obedience, as Men having Authority, and not as the Scribes. You will have your Reasons in your Hands against resisting the higher Powers, and will prove your *Jus Divinum* by the Sword of the Lord and of *Gideon*.

Your Honours most

obedient Slave and Vassal,

A. B. C. D. E. F. G.

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ARGUMENT

AGAINST

A Standing Army, &c.

WHEN I consider what a dismal Scene of Blood and Desolation hath appeared upon the Theatre of *Europe* during the Growth and Progress of the *French* Power, I cannot sufficiently applaud and admire our thrice happy Situation, by which we have long enjoyed an uninterrupted Course of Peace and Prosperity, whilst our neighbouring Nations have been miserably harassed by perpetual War: For lying open to continual Invasion, they can never enjoy Quiet and Security, nor take a sound sleep, but *Hercules* like with Clubs in their hands. So that these *Halcyon*.

eyon Days which we enjoy amidst such a universal Hurricane, must be solely attributed to our Tutelar God *Neptune*, who with a Guard of winged Coursers so strongly intrenches us, that we may be said to be *mediâ insuperabiles undâ*, and not unfitly compared to the Earth, which stands fixed and immovable, and never to be shaken but by an internal Convulsion. And as Nature has been thus liberal to us in our Situation, so the Luxuriancy of our Soil makes it productive of numerous Commodities for Trade and Commerce: And as this Trade renders us Masters of the Silver and Gold of the East and West without our toiling in the Mine, so it breeds us multitudes of able-bodied and skilful Seamen to defend the Treasures they bring home; that even Luxury itself, which has been the Bane and Destruction of most Countries where it has been predominant, may in some measure be esteemed our Preservation, by breeding up a Race of Men amongst us, whose manner of Life will never suffer them to be debauched or enervated with Ease or Idleness. But we have one thing more to boast of besides all these Felicities, and that is, of

being Freeman, and not Slaves in this unhappy Age, when a universal Deluge of Tyranny has overspread the Face of the whole Earth; so that this is the *Ark* out of which if the *Dove* be sent forth, she will find no resting-place till her Return.

Our Constitution is a limited mixed Monarchy, where the King enjoys all the Prerogatives necessary to the Support of his Dignity and Protection of his People, and is only abridged from the Power of injuring his own Subjects: In short, the Man is loose, and the Beast only bound; and our Government may be truly called an Empire of Laws, and not of Men; for every Man has the same Right to what he can acquire by his Labour and Industry, as the King hath to his Crown, and the meanest Subject hath his Remedy against him in his Courts at *Westminster*: No man can be imprisoned, unless he has transgressed a Law of his own making, nor be tried but by his own Neighbours. So that we enjoy a Liberty scarce known to the antient *Greeks* and *Romans*.

And lest the extraordinary Power intrusted in the Crown should lean towards Arbitrary

bitrary Government, or the tumultuary Licentiousness of the People should incline towards a Democracy, the Wisdom of our Ancestors hath instituted a middle State, *viz.* of Nobility, whose Interest it is to trim this Boat of our Commonwealth, and to skreen the People against the Insults of the Prince, and the Prince against the Popularity of the Commons; since if either Extreme prevail so far as to oppress the other, they are sure to be overwhelmed in their Ruin. And the meeting of these Three States in Parliament is what we call our Government: for without all their Consents no Law can be made, nor a penny of Money levied upon the Subject; so that the King's Necessities do often oblige him to summon this Court, which is the Grand Inquest of the Kingdom, where the People speak boldly their Grievances, and call to account overgrown Criminals, who are above the reach of ordinary Justice: so that the Excellence of this Government consists in the due Balance of the several constituent Parts of it; for if any *one* of them should be too hard for the other *two*, there is an actual Dissolution of the Constitution; but

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whilst we continue in our present Condition, we may without Vanity reckon ourselves the happiest People in the World.

But as there is no degree of human Happiness that is not accompanied with some Defects, and the strongest Constitutions are most liable to certain Diseases, so the very Excellence of our Government betrays it to some Inconveniencies, the Wheels and Motions of it being so curious and delicate that it is often out of order, and therefore we ought to apply our utmost Endeavours to rectify and preserve it: and I am afraid it is more owing to the accident of our Situation, than to our own Wisdom, Integrity or Courage, that it has yet a Being, when we see most Nations in *Europe* over-run with Oppression and Slavery, where the Lives, Estates and Liberties of the People are subject to the lawless Fancy and Ambition of the Prince, and the Rapine and Insolence of his Officers; where the Nobility, that were formerly the bold Assertors of their Country's Liberty, are now only the Ensigns and Ornaments of Tyranny, and the People Beasts of Burden, and barely kept alive to sup-
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port the Luxury and Prodigality of their Masters.

And if we enquire how these unhappy Nations have lost that precious Jewel *Liberty*, and we as yet preserv'd it, we shall find their Miseries and our Happiness proceed from this, That their Necessities or Indiscretion have permitted a Standing Army to be kept amongst them, and our Situation rather than our Prudence hath as yet defended us from it, otherwise we had long since lost what is the most valuable thing under Heaven: For, as I said before, our Constitution depending upon a due Balance between King, Lords and Commons, and that Balance depending upon the mutual Occasions and Necessities they have of one another; if this Cement be once broke, there is an actual Dissolution of the Government. Now this Balance can never be preserved but by a Union of the natural and artificial Strength of the Kingdom, that is, by making the Militia to consist of the same Persons as have the Property; or otherwise the Government is violent and against Nature, and cannot possibly continue, but the Constitution must either break
the

the Army, or the Army will destroy the Constitution: for it is universally true, that wherever the Militia is, there is or will be the Government in a short time; and therefore the Institutors of this *Gothick* Balance (which was established in all Parts of *Europe*) made the Militia to consist of the same Parts as the Government, where the King was General, the Lords, by virtue of their Castles and Honours, the great Commanders, and the Freeholders by their Tenures the Body of the Army; so that it was next to impossible for an Army thus constituted to act to the Disadvantage of the Constitution, unless we could suppose them to be *Felo's de se*. And here I will venture to assert, that upon no other Foundation than this can any Nation long preserve its Freedom, unless some very particular Accidents contribute to it: and I hope I shall make it appear, that no Nation ever preserved its Liberty, which maintained an Army otherwise constituted within the Seat of their Government: and let us flatter our selves as much as we please, what happened Yesterday will come to pass again, and the same Causes will produce like Effects in all Ages.

And

And here I cannot avoid taking notice of some Gentlemen, who a few Years since were the pretended Patriots of their Country, who had nothing in their Mouths but the sacred name of *Liberty*, who in the late Reigns could hardly afford the King the Prerogative that was due to him, and which was absolutely necessary to put in motion this Machine of our Government, and to make the Springs and Wheels of it act naturally, and perform their Function: I say, these Gentlemen, that could not with Patience hear of the King's ordinary Guards, can now discourse familiarly of twenty thousand Men to be maintained in times of Peace; and the odious Excuse they give for this infamous Apostacy is, That if they should not gratify the Court in this modest Request, another Party would be caressed, who will grant this, or any thing else which is asked, and then they say Matters will be much worse: as if Arbitrary Government was a different thing in their Hands from what it is in others, or that the Lineaments and Features of Tyranny would become graceful and lovely when they are its *Valets de Chambre*. But let them not deceive themselves,

themselves, for if they think to make their Court this way, they will quickly find themselves outflattered by the Party they fear, who have been long the Darlings of Arbitrary Power, and whose Principles as well as Practices teach them to be Enemies to all the legal Rights and just Liberties of their native Country; and so these wretched Bunglers will be made use of only to bring together the Materials of Tyranny, and then must give place to more expert Architects to finish the Building.

And tho' we are secure from any Attempts of this kind during the Reign of a Prince, who hath rescued us from a Captivity, equal to what *Moses* redeemed the People of *Israel* from; A Prince whose Life is so necessary to the Preservation of *Europe*, that both Protestant and Popish Princes have forgot their antient Maxims, and laid aside their innate Animosities, and made it their common Interest to chuse him their Patron and Protector; A Prince in whom we know no Vices, but what have been esteemed Virtues in others, viz. his undeserved Clemency to his Enemies, and his exposing too much that Life upon which

which depends not only our Safety, but the Liberties of all *Europe*, and the Protestant Religion through the World: I say, was this most excellent Prince to be immortal (as his Great and Glorious Actions) we ought in common Prudence to abandon all thoughts of Self-preservation, and wholly to rely on his Care and Conduct. But since no Virtue nor pitch of Glory will exempt him from paying the common Debt to Nature; and Death hath a Sythe which cuts off the most noble Lives; we ought not to intrust any Power with him, which we do not think proper to be continued to his Successors. And doubtless our great Benefactor will not regret this, or any thing else that can reasonably be demanded in order to compleat that Deliverance so far advanced by his invincible Courage and Conduct. For to set us, like *Moses*, within view of the promised Land, with a *ne plus ultra*, is the greatest of all human Infelicities; and such I shall always take our Case to be, whilst a Standing Army must be kept up to prey upon our Entrails, and which must in the hands of an ill Prince (which we have the Misfortune frequently

to

to meet with) infallibly destroy our Constitution. And this is so evident and important a Truth, that no Legislator ever founded a free Government, but avoided this *Charybdis*, as a Rock against which his Commonwealth must certainly be shipwrecked, as the *Israelites*, *Athenians*, *Corinthians*, *Achaïans*, *Lacedæmonians*, *Thebans*, *Samnites* and *Romans*; none of which Nations, whilst they kept their Liberty, were ever known to maintain any Soldier in constant pay within their Cities, or ever suffered any of their Subjects to make War their Profession; well knowing that the Sword and Sovereignty always march hand in hand; and therefore they trained their own Citizens, and the Territories about them, perpetually in Arms, and their whole Commonwealths by this means became so many several formed Militia's: a general Exercise of the best of their People in the use of Arms, was the only Bulwark of their Liberties; this was reckoned the surest way to preserve them both at home and abroad, the People being secured thereby as well against the domestick Affronts of any of their own Citizens, as against the foreign
Invasions

Invasions of ambitious and unruly Neighbours. Their Arms were never lodged in the hands of any who had not an Interest in preserving the Publick Peace, who fought *pro aris & focis*, and thought themselves sufficiently paid by repelling Invaders, that they might with freedom return to their own Affairs. In those Days there was no difference between the Citizen, the Soldier, and the Husbandman; for all promiscuously took Arms when the Publick Safety required it, and afterwards laid them down with more alacrity than they took them up: So that we find among the *Romans*, the best and bravest of their Generals came from the Plough, contentedly returning when the Work was over, and never demanding their Triumphs till they had laid down their Commands, and reduced themselves to the state of private Men. Nor do we find that this famous Commonwealth ever permitted a Deposition of their Arms in any other Hands, till their Empire increasing, Necessity constrained them to erect a constant stipendiary Soldiery abroad in foreign Parts, either for the holding or winning of Provinces. Then Luxury increas-

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ing with Dominion, the strict Rule and Discipline of Freedom soon abated, and Forces were kept up at home, which soon proved of such dangerous Consequence, that the People were forced to make a Law to employ them at a convenient distance; which was, that if any General marched over the River *Rubicon*, he should be declared a publick Enemy: And in the Passage of that River this following Inscription was erected; *Imperator five miles, five Tyrannus armatus quisquis sistito, vexillum armaq; deponito, nec citra hunc amnem trajicito.* And this made *Cæsar*, when he had presumed to pass this River, to think of nothing but pressing on to the total oppression of that glorious Empire.

Nor, as I said before, did any Nation deviate from these Rules but they lost their Liberty; and of this kind there are infinite Examples, out of which I shall give a few in several Ages, which are most known, and occur to every one's reading.

The first Example I shall produce is of *Pisistratus*, who artfully prevailing with the *Athenians* to allow him fifty Guards for the defence of his Person, he so improved that

that Number, that he seized upon the Castle and Government, destroyed the Commonwealth, and made himself Tyrant of *Athens*.

The *Corinthians* being in apprehension of their Enemies, made a Decree for four hundred Men to be kept to defend their City, and gave *Tymophanes* the Command over them, who overturned their Government, cut off all the principal Citizens, and proclaimed himself King of *Corinth*.

Agathocles being Captain-General of the *Syracusians*, got such an Interest in the Army, that he cut all the Senators to pieces, and the richest of the People, and made himself their King.

The *Romans* for fear of the *Teutones* and *Cimbri*, who like vast Inundations threatned their Empire, chose *Marius* their General; and, contrary to the Constitution of their Government, continued him five Years in his Command, which gave him such opportunity to insinuate, and gain an Interest in their Army, that he oppressed their Liberty: And to this were owing all the Miseries, Massacres and Ruins which that City suffered under him and *Sylla*, who made the best Blood in the World run like Wa-

ter in the Streets of *Rome*, and turned the whole City into a Shambles of the Nobility, Gentry and People.

The same thing enabled *Cæsar* totally to overthrow that famous Commonwealth; for the prolongation of his Commission in *Gaul*, gave him an opportunity to debauch his Army, and then upon a pretended disgust he marched to *Rome*, drove out the Senators, seized the Treasury, fought their Forces, and made himself perpetual Dictator.

Olivarotto di Fermo desired leave of his fellow Citizens, that he might be admitted into their Town with a hundred Horse of his Companions; which being granted, he put to the Sword all their principal Citizens, and proclaimed himself their Prince.

Francis Sforza being General of the *Milanese*, usurped upon them, and made himself Duke of *Milan*.

After *Christiern* the Second King of *Denmark* had conquered *Sweden*, he invited all the Senators and Nobility to a magnificent Entertainment, where after he had treated them highly for two Days, he most barbarously butchered them. None escaped this Massacre but the brave *Gustavus Ericson*, who

who was then a Prisoner; but he afterwards escaping through a thousand Difficulties, by his good Fortune, Courage and Conduct, drove the *Danes* out of *Sweden*, and restored the *Swedes* to their ancient Kingdom. Nothing then was thought too great for their generous Deliverer; every Mouth was full of his Praises, and by the universal Voice of the People he was chosen their King. And to consummate the last Testimony of their Gratitude, they trusted him with an Army; but they soon found their Mistake, for it cost them their Liberty; and having granted that *unum magnum*, it was too late to dispute any thing else: His Successors having been pleased to take all the rest, and now they remain the miserable Examples of too credulous Generosity.

The Story of *Denmark* is so generally known, and so well related by a late excellent Author, * that it would be Impertinence in me to repeat it; only this I will observe, that if the King had not had an Army at his Command, the Nobles had never delivered up their Government.

* The Lord Moleſworth.

Our Country-man *Oliver Cromwel* turned out that Parliament under which he served, and who had got immortal Honour through the whole World by their great Actions; and this he effected by the Assistance of an Army, which must be allowed to have had as much Virtue, Sobriety, and publick Spirit, as hath been known in the World since, amongst that sort of Men.

The last Instance I shall give, is of a *French* Colony, as I remember, in the *West-Indies*, who having War with the neighbouring *Indians*, and being tired in their March with the extremity of Heat, made their Slaves carry their Arms; who taking that opportunity, fell upon them and cut them to pieces, a just Punishment for their Folly. And this will always be the Fate of those that trust their Arms out of their Hands; for it is a ridiculous Imagination to conceive Men will be Servants, when they can be Masters. And as Mr. *Harrington* judiciously observes, * Whatever Nation suffers their Servants to carry their Arms, their Servants will make them hold their Trenchers.

* See, OCEANA.

Some People object, that the Republicks of *Venice* and *Holland* are Instances to disprove my Assertion, who both keep great Armies, and yet have not lost their Liberty.

I answer, That neither keep any standing Forces within the Seats of their Government, that is, within the City of *Venice*, or the great Towns of the *United Provinces*; but they defend these by their own Burghers, and quarter their Mercenaries in their conquered Countries, viz. the *Venetians* in *Greece* and the Continent of *Italy*, and the *Dutch* in *Brabant* and *Flanders*. And the Situation of these States makes their Armies, so posted, not dangerous to them; for the *Venetians* cannot be attacked without a Fleet, nor the *Dutch* be ever conquered by their own Forces; their Country being so full of strong Towns, fortified both by Art and Nature, and defended by their own Citizens, that it would be a fruitless Attempt for their own Armies to invade them; for if they should march against any of their Cities, it is but shutting up their Gates, and the Design is spoiled.

But if we admit that any Army might be consistent with Freedom in a Commonwealth, yet it is otherwise in a free Monarchy : for in the former it is wholly in the disposal of the People, who nominate, appoint, discard, and punish the Generals and Officers as they think fit, and it is certain Death to make any attempt upon their Liberties ; whereas in the latter, the King is perpetual General, may model the Army as he pleases, and it will be called High-Treason to oppose him.

And tho' some Princes, as the Family of the *Medices*, *Lewis* the Eleventh, and others, laid the Foundation of their Tyrannies without the immediate assistance of an Army, yet they all found an Army necessary to establish them ; or otherwise a little experience in the People of the change of their Condition, would have made them disgorge in a Day that ill-gotten Power they had been acquiring for an Age.

This Subject is so self-evident, that I am almost ashamed to prove it : for if we look through the World, we shall find in no Country, Liberty and an Army stand together ; so that to know whether a People

are free or Slaves, it is necessary only to ask, Whether there is an Army kept amongst them; and the Solution of that preliminary Question resolves the Doubt: as we see in *China, India, Tartary, Persia, Ethiopia, Turkey, Morocco, Muscovy, Austria, France, Portugal, Denmark, Sweden, Tuscany*, and all the little Principalities of *Germany* and *Italy*, where the People live in the most abandoned Slavery; and in Countries where no Armies are kept within the Seat of their Government, the People are free, as *Poland, Biscay, Switzerland, the Grisons, Venice, Holland, Genoa, Geneva, Ragusa, Algiers, Tunis, Hamborough, Lubeck*; all the free Towns in *Germany*, and *England* and *Scotland* before the late Reigns. This Truth is so obvious, that the most barefaced Advocates for an Army do not directly deny it, but qualify the Matter by telling us, that a Number not exceeding 15 or 20,000 Men, are a handful to so populous a Nation as this. Now I think that Number will bring as certain Ruin upon us as if they were as many Millions, and I will give my Reasons for it.

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It is the Misfortune of all Countries, that they sometimes lie under an unhappy necessity to defend themselves by Arms against the Ambition of their Governors, and to fight for what's their own; for if a Prince will rule us with a Rod of Iron, and invade our Laws and Liberties, and neither be prevailed upon by our Miseries, Supplications or Tears, we have no Power upon Earth to appeal to, and therefore must patiently submit to our Bondage, or stand upon our own Defence; which if we are enabled to do, we shall never be put upon it, but our Swords may grow rusty in our Hands: for that Nation is surest to live in Peace, that is most capable of making War, and a Man that hath a Sword by his side, shall have least occasion to make use of it. Now I say, if the King hath twenty thousand Men beforehand with us, or much less than half that Number, the People can make no Effort to defend their Liberties without the Assistance of a foreign Power, which is a Remedy most commonly as bad as the Disease; and if we have not a Power within our selves to defend our Laws, we are no Government.

For *England* being a small Country, few strong Towns in it, and those in the King's Hands, the Nobility disarmed by the destruction of Tenures, and the Militia not to be raised but by the King's Command, there can be no Force levied in any part of *England*, but must be destroyed in its Infancy by a few Regiments: For what will three or four thousand naked unarmed Men signify against as many Troops of mercenary Soldiers? What if they should come into the Field, and say you must chuse these and these Men your Representatives, where is your Choice? What if they should say, Parliaments are seditious and factious Assemblies, and therefore ought to be abolished; what is become of your Freedom? Or if they should encompass the Parliament House, and threaten if they do not surrender up their Government, they will put them to the Sword; What is become of the old *English* Constitution? These things may be, and have been done in several Parts of the World. What is it that causeth the Tyranny of the *Turks* at this Day, but Servants in Arms? What is it that preserv-

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ed the glorious Commonwealth of *Rome*, but Swords in the Hands of its Citizens?

And if besides this, we consider the great Prerogatives of the Crown, and the vast Interest the King has and may acquire by the distribution of so many profitable Offices of the Household, of the Revenue, of State, of Law, of Religion, and the Navy, together with the Assistance of a powerful Party, who have been always the fast and constant Friends to Arbitrary Power, whose only Quarrel to his present Majesty is, that he has knocked off the Chains and Fetters they thought they had locked fast upon us; a Party who hath once engaged us in an unhappy Quarrel amongst our selves (the Consequence of which I dread to name) and since in a tedious and chargeable War, at the vast expence of Blood and Treasure, to avoid that Captivity they had prepared for us: I say, if any one considers this, he will be convinced we have enough to do to guard our selves against the Power of the Court, without having an Army thrown into the Scale against us. And we have found oftner than once by too fatal Experience the truth of this; for if we look
back

back to the late Reigns, we shall see this Nation brought to the brink of Destruction, and breathing out the last gasp of their Liberty; and it is more owing to our good Fortune, than to any Effort we were able to make, that we escaped the fatal Blow.

And I believe no Man will deny, but if King *Charles* the First had had five thousand Men before-hand with us, the People had never struck a stroke for their Liberties; or if the late King *James* would have been contented with Arbitrary Power without bringing in Popery, but he and his *black Guard* would have bound us hand and foot before this time: But when their ill-contrived Oppression came home to their own Doors, they quickly shewed the World how different a thing it was to suffer themselves, and to make other People suffer, and so we came by our Deliverance. And tho the late King had the Nobility, Gentry, Clergy, People, and his own Army against him, and we had a very wise and courageous Prince nearly related to the Crown, and backed by a powerful State, for our Protector, yet we account this Revolution next to a Miracle.

I will

I will add here, that most of the Nations I instanced before were enslaved by small Armies: *Oliver Cromwel* left behind him but 27,000 Men, and the Duke of *Monmouth*, who was the Darling of the People was suppressed with two thousand; nay, *Cæsar* seized *Rome* it self with five thousand, and fought the Battel of *Pharsalia*, where the fate of the World was decided, with twenty two thousand: And most of the Revolutions of the Roman and Ottoman Empires since, were caused by the Pretorian Bands, and the Court Janizaries, the former of which never exceeded eight, nor the latter twelve thousand Men. And if no greater Numbers could make such Disturbances in those vast Empires, what will double the Force do with us? And they themselves confess it when they argue for an Army; for they tell us we may be surprized with ten or fifteen thousand Men from *France*, and having no regular Force to oppose them, they will over-run the Kingdom. Now if so small a Force can oppose the King, the Militia, with the united Power of the Nobility, Gentry and Commons, what will an equal Power do
against

against the People, when supported by the Royal Authority, and a never-failing Interest that will attend it, except when it acts for the Publick Good?

But we are told, this Army is not designed to be made a part of our Constitution, but to be kept only for a little Time, till the Circumstances of *Europe* will better permit us to be without them. But I would know of these Gentlemen, when they think that Time will be? Will it be during the Life of King *James*, or after his Death? Shall we have less to fear from the Youth and Vigor of the pretended Prince of *Wales*, than now from an unhappy Man sinking under the Load of Age and Misfortunes? Or will *France* be more capable of offending us just after this tedious and consumptive War, than hereafter when it has had a breathing time to repair the Calamities it has suffered by it? No: we can never disband our Army with so much Safety as at this time; and this is well known by these Conspirators against their Country, who are satisfied that a Continuation of them now, is an Establishment of them for ever: for whilst the Circumstances of *Europe*

rope stand in the present Posture, the Argument will be equal to continue them: if the State of *Europe* should alter to the Advantage of *France*, the Reason will grow stronger, and we shall be told we must increase our Number. But if there should be such a turn of Affairs in the World, that we were no longer in apprehension of the *French* Power, they may be kept up without our Assistance; nay, the very Discontents they may create shall be made an Argument for the continuing them. But if they should be kept from oppressing the People, in a little time they will grow habitual to us, and almost become a part of our Constitution, and by degrees we shall be brought to believe them, not only, not dangerous, but necessary: for every body sees, but few understand; and those few will never be able to persuade the Multitude that there is any danger in those Men they have lived quietly with for some Years, especially when the disbanding them will (as they will be made believe) cost them more Money out of their own Pockets than to maintain a Militia; and of this we have had already an unhappy Experience. For

King

King *Charles the Second* being connived at, in keeping a few Guards (which were the first ever known to an *English* King besides his Pensioners, and his Beef-eaters) he insensibly increased their Number, till he left a body of Men to his Successor great enough to tell the Parliament, he would be no longer bound by the Laws he had sworn to; and under the Shelter and Protection of these he raised an Army, that had put a period to our Government, if a Complication of Causes (which may never happen again) had not presented the Prince of *Orange* with a Conjuncture to assert his own and the Nation's Rights. And tho we have so lately escaped this Precipice, yet Habit has made Soldiers so familiar to us, that some who pretend to be zealous for Liberty, speak of it as a hardship to his present Majesty, to refuse him as many Men as his Predecessors, not considering that the raising them then was a Violation of our Laws; and that his Government is built upon the Destruction of theirs; and can no more stand upon the same rubbish, than the Kingdom of Heaven be founded in Unrighteousness.

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But

But the Conspirators say, we need be in no Apprehensions of Slavery whilst we keep the Power of the Purse in our own Hands: which is very true; but they do not tell us that he has the power of raising Money, to whom no one dares refuse it.

*Arma tenenti
Omnia dat qui justa negat.*

For it is as certain that an Army will raise Money, as that Money will raise an Army; but if this course should be thought too desperate, it is only shutting up the Exchequer, and disobliging a few Tally-Jobbers (who have bought them for fifty *per cent.* discount) and there will be near three Millions a Year ready cut and dried for them: and whoever doubts whether such a Method as this is practicable, let him look back to the Reign of *Charles* the Second, And I am afraid the Officers of the Exchequer have not much reason to value themselves for their Payments in this Reign: at least the Purchasers of the Annuities are of that opinion, and would be apt to entertain some unreasonable Suspicions, if they had not greater

greater Security from his Majesty's Virtue, than the Justice of such Ministers. But if we could suppose (whatever is the fate of other Countries) that our Courtiers design nothing but the publick Good, yet we ought not to hazard such unusual Virtue, by leading it into Temptation, which is part of our daily Duty to pray against. But I am afraid we do not live in an Age of Miracles, especially of that sort; our Heroes are made of a coarser Alloy, and have too much Dross mixed with their Constitutions for such refined Principles: for in the little Experience I have had in the World, I have observed most Men to do as much Mischief as lay in their power, and therefore am for dealing with them as we do with Children and Mad-men, that is, take away all Weapons by which they may do either themselves or others an Injury: And I think the Sheep in *Boccalini* made a prudent Address to *Apollo*, when they desired, that for the future Wolves might have no Teeth.

When all other Arguments fail, they call to their Assistance the old Tyrant Necessity, and tell us the Power of *France* is so great, that let the Consequence of an Ar-

my be what it will, we cannot be without one; and if we must be Slaves, we had better be so to a Protestant Prince than a Popish one, and the worst of all Popish ones, the *French King*. Now I am of Mr. *Johnson's* Opinion, that the putting an Epithet upon Tyranny is false Heraldry; for Protestant and Popish are both alike; and if I must be a Slave, it is very indifferent to me who is my Master; and therefore I shall never consent to be ruled by an Army, which is the worst that the most barbarous Conquest can impose upon me; which notwithstanding we have little reason to fear whilst we keep the Seas well guarded.

It is certain there is no Country so situated for Naval Power as *England*. The Sea is our Element, our Seamen have as much hardy Bravery, and our Ships are as numerous, and built of as good Materials as any in the World: Such a Force well applied and managed is able to give Laws to the Universe; and if we keep a competent part of it well armed in times of Peace, it is the most ridiculous thing in nature to believe any Prince will have thoughts of invading us, unless he proposes to be

superiour to us in Naval Power: For the Preparations necessary for such an Undertaking will alarm all *Europe*, give both to us and our Confederates time to arm, and put our selves in a Posture of defence. And whoever considers that the Prince of *Orange* with six hundred Ships brought but fourteen thousand Men, and the mighty *Spanish Armado* (then the Terror of the World) embarked but eighteen thousand, will be assured that no Invasion can be so sudden upon us, but we shall have time to get ready our whole Fleet, bring some Forces from *Holland* and *Ireland*, and prepare our own Militia if there shall be occasion for it; especially in times of Peace, when we shall have the Liberty of all the Ports of *France*, and shall or may have intelligence from every one of them.

But they tell us such a Wind may happen as may be favourable to our own Enemy, and keep us within our Ports; which I say, as *France* lies to *England*, is almost impossible: for if we lie about *Falmouth*, or the *Land's end*, no Fleet from *Brest* or the Ocean can escape us without a Miracle; and if the Design be to invade us from any

Port in the Channel, a very few Ships (which may safely lie at Anchor) will certainly prevent it. Nor is it to be conceived that That cautious Prince will be at a vast Expence for the Contingency of such a critical Wind, or will send an Army into a Country where their Retreat is certainly cut off, when the failing in any part of his Design will bring a new War upon him, which lately cost a third part of his People, a great many large Countries and strong Towns with all the Honor he had heaped up by his former Victories, to get rid of.

And here I must confess, that the Misapplication of our Naval Force (which is our known Strength) for these last eight Years, is the strongest, as it is the most usual Argument against me: which unriddles a Mystery I did not understand before, tho I never was so foolish as to believe all the Errors of that kind were the Effects of chance or ignorance; or that losing so many Opportunities of destroying the *French* Fleet had not some Extraordinary, tho Occult Cause; and yet notwithstanding the restless Attempts of our Enemies, and the paltry Politicks of our own wretched Statesmen,

men, this Fleet triumphantly defended us, so that our Enemies in eight Years War could not get one opportunity of invading our Country.

It is objected, that the Officers of our Fleet may be corrupted, or that a Storm may arise which may destroy it all at once, and therefore we ought to have two strings to our Bow. By which I perceive all their Fears lie one way, and that they do not care if they precipitate us into inevitable Ruin at home, to prevent a distant Possibility of it from *France*. But I think this Phantom too may be laid by a well trained Militia, and then all their Bugbears will vanish. This word can be no sooner out, but there is a volley of small Shot let fly at me: What! must we trust our Safety to an undisciplined Mob, who never dreamt of fighting when they undertook the Service; who are not indured to the Fatigue of a Camp, or ever saw the Face of an Enemy? And then they magnify mercenary Troops; as if there was an intrinsic Virtue in a red Coat, or that a Raggamuffin from robbing of Hen-Roosts, in two Campaigns, could be cudgeled into a Hero. Tho I must con-

fects the Conduct of the Court by industriously enervating this Force, do in some measure justify their Objections: For the detestable Policies of the last Reigns were with the utmost Art and Application to disarm the People, and make the Militia useless, to countenance a standing Army in order to bring in Popery and Slavery; and if any Methods were proposed to make it more serviceable, the Court would never suffer them to be debated; and such Officers as were more zealous in exercising their Companies than others, were reprimanded, as designing to raise a Rebellion. And now the worthy Patriots of this Reign are taking advantage of the traiterous Neglect and infamous Policies of the last. But why may not a Militia be made useful? Why may not the Nobility, Gentry, and Freeholders of *England* be trusted with the Defence of their own Lives, Estates and Liberties, without having Guardians and Keepers assigned them? And why may they not defend them with as much Vigour and Courage as Mercenaries who have nothing to lose, nor any other Tie to engage their Fidelity, than the inconsiderable pay of Sixpence

pence a Day, which they may have from the Conqueror?

Why may not the Laws for shooting in Crossbows be changed into Firelocks, and a competent Number of them be kept in every Parish for the young Men to exercise with on Holidays, and Rewards offered to the most expert, to stir up their Emulation?

Why may not the whole Militia of *England* be reduced to sixty thousand, and a third part of those kept by turns in constant Exercise?

Why may not a Man be listed in the Militia till he be discharged by his Master, as well as in the Army till he be discharged by his Captain? And why may not the same Horse be always sent forth, unless it can be made appear he is dead or maimed!

Why may not the private Soldiers of the Army, when they are dispersed in the several parts of the Kingdom, be sent to the Militia? and why may not the inferiour Officers of the Army in some proportion command them?

I say, these and other like things may be done, and some of them are done in our
own

own Plantations, and the Islands of *Jersey* and *Guernsey*, as also in *Poland*, *Switzerland*, and the Country of the *Grisons*; which are Nations much less considerable than *England*, have as formidable Neighbours, no Sea nor Fleet to defend them, nothing but a Militia to depend upon, and yet no one dares attack them. And we have seen as great Performances done formerly by the Apprentices of *London*, and in the late War by the *Vaudois* in *Savoy*, the *Miquelets* in *Catalonia*, and the Militia in *Ireland*, as can be paralleled in History: And so it would be with us, if the Court will give their hearty assistance in promoting this Design? if the King would appear in Person at the Head of them, and give Rewards and Honour to such as deserve them, we should quickly see the young Nobility and Gentry appear magnificent in Arms and Equipage, shew a generous Emulation in outvying one another in Military Exercises, and place a noble Ambition in making themselves serviceable to their Country: as anciently the *Achaians* and *Thebans* from being the most contemptible Nations in *Greece*, by the Conduct of *Pelopidas*, *Epaminondas*, and *Philopemen*,

lopemen, came to have the best disciplined Troops and most excellent Soldiers in the World.

They object, that such a Militia as this is a Standing Army, and will be as dangerous and much more chargeable. I answer;

That there can be no danger from an Army where the Nobility and Gentry of *England* are the Commanders, and the Body of it made up of the Freeholders, their Sons and Servants; unless we can conceive that the Nobility and Gentry will join in an unnatural Design to make void their own Titles to their Estates and Liberties: and if they could entertain so ridiculous a Proposition, they would never be obeyed by the Soldiers, who will have a Respect to those that send them forth and pay them, and to whom they must return again when their time is expired. For if I send a Man, I will as surely chuse one who shall fight for me, as a mercenary Officer will chuse one that shall fight against me: and the late Governments are Witnesses to the truth of this, who debauched the Militia more than ever I hope to see it again; and yet durst never rely upon them to assist their arbitrary

trary Designs ; as we may remember in the Duke of *Monmouth's* Invasion, their Officers durst not bring them near his Army for fear of a Revolt. Nay, the Pensioner-Parliament themselves turned short upon the Court, when they expected them to give the finishing Stroke to our Ruin.

To the last part of the Objection, That this Militia will be more chargeable than an Army ; I answer, That since (as I suppose) no Man proposes wholly to lay them aside, if we add the extraordinary Expence of maintaining twenty thousand Men to the ordinary charge of the Militia, it is much more than sufficient to make the latter useful. But if this Objection were true, it ought not to enter into competition with the Preservation of our Laws and Liberties ; for it is better to give a third part of my Estate, if it were necessary, than to have all taken from me.

And tho it should be granted, that a Militia is not as serviceable as an Army kept to constant Discipline, yet I believe these Gentlemen themselves will confess, that sixty thousand of them trained as before, are as good as twenty thousand of their Standing

ing Troops, which is the Question; for it is impossible to have them Both useful at the same time, they being as incompatible as broad and clipt Money, never current together; and therefore the Court must depend wholly upon a Militia, or else they will not depend upon them at all. And this by the way may silence that Objection, that we must keep our Army till the Militia be disciplined; for that will never be done whilst the Court has an Army: and the same Objection will be made seven Years hence as now; so that a small Army can be of no use to us, but to make our Fleet neglected, to hinder the Militia from being trained, and inflave us at home: for they are too few to defend us against an Invasion, and too many for the People to oppose.

I dare speak with the greater Assurance upon this Subject, having the Authority of as great Men as the World hath produced for my Justification. *Machiavel* spends several Chapters to prove, that no Prince or State ought to suffer any of their Subjects to make War their Profession, and that no Nation can be secure with any other Forces than a settled Militia. My Lord

Bacon

Bacon in several places bears his Testimony against a Standing Army, and particularly he tells us, that a mercenary Army is fittest to invade a Country, but a Militia to defend it; because the first have Estates to get, and the latter to protect. Mr. *Harrington* has founded his whole *Oceana* upon a trained Militia; and I have lately read a *French Book*, called, The History of the Politicks of *France*, which says, *Enfin si on veut ruiner les Anglois il suffit de les obliger a tenir des Troupes sur pied* *. Nay, I believe no Author ever treated of a free Government, that did not express his Abhorrence of an Army; for (as my Lord *Bacon* says) whoever does use them, tho he may spread his Feathers for a Time, he will mew them soon after: and raise them with what design you please, yet, like the *West-Indian Dogs* in *Boccalini*, in a little time they will certainly turn Sheep-biters.

Perhaps it will be said, that the Artillery of the World is changed since some of these wrote, and War is become more a Mystery, and therefore more Experience is

* i. e. To ruin the English, let them keep up a Standing Army.

necessary

necessary to make good Soldiers. But wherein does this Mystery consist? not in exercising a Company and obeying a few words of Command; these are Mysteries that the dullest Noddle will comprehend in a few Weeks. Nay, I have heard that the Modern Exercise is much shorter and easier than the Ancient. But the great Improvements in War are in regular Encampments, Fortification, Gunnery, skilful Engineering, &c. These are Arts not to be learned without much Labour and Experience, and are as much gained in the Closet as in the Field; and I suppose no Man will say, that the keeping Standing Forces is necessary to make a good Engineer.

As to actual Experience in War, that is not essential either to a Standing Army or a Militia, as such; but the former may be without it, and the latter gain it according as they have Opportunities of Action. It is true at present the Army hath been trained up in a long War, and hath gained great Knowledge: but these Men will not be lost when they are disbanded, they will be still in *England*; and if the Parliament does give them a Gratuity suitable to the Ser-

vice they have done their Country, they will be ready to resume their Arms whenever occasion offers.

But I desire to know of these Patriots, how comes an Army necessary to our Preservation now, and never since the Conquest before? Did ever the prevailing Party in the Wars of *York* and *Lancaster* attempt to keep up a Standing Army to support themselves? No: they had more Sense than to sacrifice their own Liberty, and more Honour than to enslave their Country, the more easily to carry on their own Faction. Were not the *Spaniards* as powerful, as good Soldiers, and as much our Enemies, as the *French* are now? Was not *Flanders* as near us as *France*? and the Popish Interest in Queen *Elizabeth's* time as strong as the Jacobite is now? and yet that most excellent Princess never dreamt of a Standing Army, but thought her surest Empire was to reign in the Hearts of her Subjects, which the following Story sufficiently testifies. When the Duke of *Alanfon* came over to *England*, and for some time had admired the Riches of the City, the Conduct of her Government, and the Magnificence

cence of her Court, he asked her amidst so much Splendor, where were her Guards; which Question she resolved a few Days after when she took him in her Coach thro the City, and pointing to the People (who received her in Crouds with repeated Acclamations) These, said she, my Lord, are my Guards; these have their Hands, their Hearts, and their Purfes always ready at my Command: and these were Guards indeed, who defended her thro a long and successful Reign of 44 Years against all the Machinations of *Rome*, the Power of *Spain*, a disputed Title, and the perpetual Conspiracies of her own Popish Subjects; a Security the *Roman* Emperors could not boast of with their Pretorian Bands, and their *Eastern* and *Western* Armies.

Were not the *French* as powerful in *Charles* the Second and King *James's* time, as they are after this long and destructive War, and a less Alliance to oppose them? and yet we then thought a much less Army than is now contended for, a most insupportable Grievance; insomuch that in King *Charles* the Second's Reign the Grand Jury presented them, and the Pensioner-

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Parliament

Parliament voted them to be a Nufance, sent Sir *J. Williamson* to the Tower, for saying the King might keep Guards for the Defence of his Person, and addrested to have them disbanded. And now our Apostates would make their Court by doing what the worst Parliament ever *England* saw could not think of without Horror and Confusion. They say the King of *France* was in league with our late Kings, so he is with us; and he would have broke it then, if he had thought it safe, and for his Interest, as much as now. But they say we have more disaffected Persons to join with him; which I must deny, for I believe no King of *England* in any Age had deservedly more Interest than the present; and if during such an expensive War, in which we have consumed so much Blood and Treasure, paid such vast and unequal Taxes, lost so many thousand Ships, and bore a shock by recoinning our Money, which would have torn up another Nation from its Foundation, and reduced it to its ancient Chaos, when most Countries would have sunk under the Misfortune, and repined at their Deliverance (as Men in sickness

ness commonly quarrel with their dearest Friends) I say, if at that time he had so great and universal an Interest, there can be no doubt but in times of Peace, when the People reap the Fruits of that Courage and Conduct he hath shewn in their Defence, he will be the most beloved and glorious Prince that ever filled the *English* Throne.

I will make one Assertion more, and then conclude this Discourse, *viz.* That the most likely way of restoring King *James*, is maintaining a Standing Army to keep him out.

For the King's Safety stands upon a Rock whilst it depends upon the solid Foundation of the Affections of the People, which is never to be shaken till it is as evident as the Sun in the Firmament, that there is a formed Design to overthrow our Laws and Liberties; but if we keep a Standing Army all depends upon the uncertain and capricious Humours of the Soldiery, which in all Ages have produced more violent and sudden Revolutions, than ever have been known in unarmed Governments: For there is such a Chain of Dependance a-

mongst them, that if two or three of the chief Officers should be disobliged, or have Intrigues with Jacobite Mistresses; or if the King of *France* could once again buy his Pensioners into the Court or Army, or offer a better Market to some that are in already, we shall have another Rehearsal Revolution, and the People be only idle Spectators of their own Ruin. And whosoever considers the Composition of an Army, and doubts this, let him look back to the *Roman* Empire, where he will find out of twenty six Emperors, sixteen deposed and murdered by their own Armies; nay, half the History of the World is made up of Examples of this kind: but we need not go any farther than our own Country, where we have twice kept Armies in times of Peace, and both times they turned out their own Masters. The first under *Cromwel* expelled that Parliament under which they had fought successfully for many Years; afterwards under General *Monck* they destroyed the Government they before set up, and brought back King *Charles* the Second; and he afterwards disbanded them, lest they might have turned him out again. The other

Instance

Instance is fresh in every one's Memory, how King *James's* Army joined with the Prince of *Orange*, now our rightful and lawful King. And what could have been expected otherwise from Men of dissolute and debauched Principles, who call themselves Soldiers of Fortune; who make Murder their Profession, and enquire no farther into the Justice of the Cause, than how they shall be paid; who must be false, rapacious and cruel in their own Defence? For having no other Profession or Subsistence to depend upon, they are forced to stir up the Ambition of Princes, and engage them in perpetual Quarrels, that they may share of the Spoils they make. Such Men, like some sort of ravenous Fish, fare best in a Storm; and therefore we may reasonably suppose they will be better pleased with the tyrannical Government of the late King, than the mild and gracious Administration of his present Majesty, who came over to *England* to rescue us from Oppression, and he has done it, and triumphs in it in spite of his Enemies.

In this Discourse I have purposely omitted speaking of the lesser Inconveniencies

attending a Standing Army, such as frequent Quarrels, Murders and Robberies, the Destruction of all the Game in the Country; the quartering upon publick, and sometimes private Houses; the influencing Elections of Parliament, by an artificial Distribution of Quarters; the rendering so many Men useless to Labour, and almost Propagation, together with a much greater Destruction of them, by taking them from a laborious way of living to a loose idle Life; and besides this, the Insolence of the Officers, and the Debaucheries that are committed both by them and their Soldiers in all the Towns they come in, to the Ruin of multitudes of Women, Dishonour of their Families and ill Example to others; and a numerous train of Mischiefs besides, almost endless to enumerate. These are trivial as well as particular Grievances, in respect of those I have treated about, which strike at the Heart's-blood of our Constitution, and therefore I thought these not considerable enough to bear a part in a Discourse of this nature: Besides they often procure their own Remedy, working Miracles, and making some Men see that were born

born blind, and impregnable against all the Artillery of Reason; for Experience is only the Mistress of Fools: A wise Man will know a *Pike* will bite when he sees his Teeth, which another will not make discovery of but by the loss of a Finger.

What I have said here against Standing Armies, I would be understood of such as are the Instruments of Tyranny and their Country's Ruin, and therefore I need make no Apology to our own, which was raised by the Consent of the Parliament in this just and necessary War, and next unto God and our great and glorious Deliverer, have by their Bravery and Conduct preserved our Liberties, and the Protestant Religion thro *Europe*. For if in future Reigns any Designs should be levelled against our Laws, we may be assured these Men would be discarded, and others promoted in their rooms, who are fit for such arbitrary Purposes.

Nor do I think it reasonable that our Army should be ruined by that Peace which by their Courage and Fidelity they have procured for their Country; and I doubt not but the Generosity and Gratitude of the Parliament will give them a Donative

equal to their Commissions, which, when the Foreigners are paid and sent home, will amount to no extraordinary Sum; at most it is but supposing the War to have six Months longer continuance, which is an easy Composition for the Charge of keeping them. But if there are any Gentlemen amongst them who think we can no otherwise express our Gratitude, but by signing and sealing our own Ruin, I hope we shall disappoint their Expectations, and not give the World occasion to tell so foolish a Story of us, as that we turned to Grass one of the most powerful Monarchs in the World for breaking our Laws, that we maintained an eight years War at the expence of forty Millions of Money, and the Blood of three hundred thousand Men, to justify the glorious Action we have done; that by it we *preserved* all *Europe* besides, and *lost* our own *Liberties*; at least I hope it shall not be said we consented to it.

THE END.

LETTERS

LETTERS

Between

Mr. MOYLE,

And several of his FRIENDS.

First Printed in the Year, 1695.

equal to their Commission, which when
the Foreigners are paid, and none will
then be a more reasonable one of course
it is not to be expected that the War
is now longer continued, which is an
easy Composition for the Charge of keep-
ing them, and it is not to be expected
that the War will be longer continued.

LETTERS

Between

Mr. MOYLE

And several of his Friends

Printed in the Year, 1802.

THE END

LETTERS

LETTERS

Between

Mr. *Moyle*, and several of his *Friends*.

To Walter Moyle, *Esq;*

Dear Sir,

YOU know, that a *Grave Fellow* † assures us, that upon the Cessation of Oracles, Lamentable Cries were heard in the Air, proclaiming along the Coasts the Death of the great *Pan*: And have not you upon this Dearth of good Sense, and this Cessation of Wit? tell me truly; have not you heard

These sounds upon the Cornish Shore,

The sage Will Urwin is no more!*

Gone is the *Universal Lord* of *Wit*! he to whom all the *Wits* paid Homage; for whom his Subjects set a Tax upon Words, and

‡ PLUTARCH. * *A Coffee-Man* in Covent-Garden.

laid

laid exorbitant Customs on Thoughts:
He is dead, alas, he is dead!

Dead I mean, Sir, in a legal Capacity, that is, Out-lawed and gone into the *Fryars*; † to go into which is once more to Outlaw himself. He has done it, Sir and ill Fortune has brought him to be a *Felo de se* that way. For since the Law thought it but Just to put *Will* out of its Protection, *Will* thought it but prudent to put himself out of its Power. And since the Law could use him with so much Contempt, as to declare to all the World that it does not care for *Will Urwin*, *Will*, who is extremely stout in Adversity, has declared by his Actions that he does not care for the Law. *Virgil* tells us in his Sixth Book, that the Souls in Hell were busied about the same things in which they were employed upon Earth; Even so does Sage *Will* use the same Nutmeg-Grater, and the same Tea-Pot in the *Fryars*, that he handled before in *Bowstreet*. Thus has he left the Wits, without any Sorrow, tho he loves them,

† White-Fryars in Fleetstreet was at that Time an Asylum for Debtors, and belongs to Bury St. Edmunds in Suffolk.

and

and without taking any leave of them. For *Will* thinks they cannot be long from him, and he says. he expects that in a very little time his old Company should be constant at his new House. And dost not thou think that they too have reason to expect the very same thing? For as the Death of any Man ought to put all his Friends in mind, that he went before but to lead them the way; so *Will's* Departure from this miserable Life, this lewd *Covent-Garden-Life*, and his ferrying from *Somerset-stairs* to the infernal Shore of *Alsatia*, should be a *Memento* to the rest of the Wits, that he is but gone whither they all must follow.

To leave off Poetical Similies, this Body-Politick is in a cursed Condition; and cannot keep long together without a Head. The Members are at present in a grave Debate how to get one. To morrow the whole House will resolve it self into a Grand Committee, to consult about Ways and Means of making Provision for the Common Necessities. Some talk of an Excise upon *May-Dew*, and *Raspberry-Brandy*: That there will be a Poll is strongly asserted,

in which every Man is to pay according to his respective condition. To morrow it will be known to how much each Man's *Quota* amounts. As for Example; How much a *Poet* is to pay, how much a *Wit*, how much a *Politician*, and how much a *Critick*. A *Critick* did I say? I beg your Pardon. They have voted *Nemine Contradicente*, that they will cels no Critick till Mr. *Moyle* returns.

I have given them my Sentiments upon the fore-mentioned Poll, which were, that it was something hard to make a Man pay for being called, Wit, Poet, or Critick; That they saw by Experience lately in the State, that poor Dogs grumbled to pay for their Titles. How then could they think that People would be contented to be Taxed for their Nick-Names? That in settling this Tax they were to take a quite contrary Method, to that which was taken upon settling a Tax in the State. That in the State, sometimes a Man paid for what he really had; As for Example, when a Country Squire paid for his Land or his Money; and sometimes for what he really

ally had not, as when a Cit that is twice dubbed, Knight by the King, and Cuckold by his Wife, pays for his Honour, and for his Children. The first of which is but as it were his, for it is really the King's, and the second of which are but as it were his, for they are really the Courtier's who helped him to his Title. In the State too a Man is made to pay for something which he does, or for something which he does not. As a *Jacobite* pays so much for Swearing when he's Drunk, and so much more for not Swearing when he is Sober. But that in our case, if we would be exactly Just, we should make People pay neither for what they have, nor for what they have not; nor for what they do, nor for what they do not; But should oblige them to Pay only for pretending to have what they really have not, or for offering to do, what they are utterly incapable of doing. That thus the Tax would certainly fall upon the most Solvent Part of the Body. For how ridiculous would it be to Tax a Man for having Poetry and Wit, when they are almost always Signs, that he hath not a Farthing to Pay?

On

On the other side, how absurd would it be to Tax him for a bare want of those Qualities? since when a Man is Dull without pretending, it is ten to one but he is Poor, for Riches make Men Vain, and Vanity makes them Affected. But he who is not much at his Ease, is hardly at leisure for Affectation, and I have often seen, that when Vanity has thrown a Fop out of Nature, Necessity has brought him back again: But a rich Rogue will be sure to be always pretending. Fortune takes Pleasure in making those Vain, whom Nature before made Impotent, and both of them often conspire to finish a Coxcomb. Thus I would have none Pay, but they who put Gravity upon us for Wisdom, Visions for Politicks, and Quibbles for Wit; and I would have no Man at any Expence for being called a Poet, a Wit, or a Critick, unless it be by himself. It would be equally hard to lay a Tax upon any one, for his Ill-Fortune, or for his Ill-Nature, since they are things of which no Man is Master. But what! a Sot cannot help his Vanity. Agreed. But then it makes him so much happier

from Mr. MOYLE.

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happier than he deserves to be, that he may well be contented to pay it.

From Will's that was,

Aug. 5. 1695.

I am

Your most humble Servant,

John Dennis.

To WALTER MOYLE, Esq;

Dear Sir,

TH O' you are already indebted a Letter to me, yet I think fit to give you credit for another; though perhaps you may little desire to run into Debt this way: But it is for two Reasons that I give you the Trouble of this. For, in the first place, I am taking a turn for a little while in the Country, and I design that the Prevention of this should make some amends for the Delay of my next. In the second place,

Q

I have

I have made some provision of Scandal, which I am willing to make use of, before it grows stale upon my Hands. Just after I writ my last, I threw my self into a Detached Party, which marched from *Wills* to *Namur*; with the same Design that the Volunteers went to *Brest*, to keep out of the Fray, and be Spectators of the Action. However, before they were come to Blows, I went amongst the Tents, and had some Discourse with Major-General *Ramsay* * whom I found to be Father to Mr. *Bays's* *Panthope*. For the Major-General is a very honest Fellow, who sells Ale by the Town Wall: We had the Satisfaction to see that the Town was taken, and the whole Siege was carried on as Sieges generally are, with a great deal more Noise than Mischief. On *Monday* last, which was the second of *September*, I travelled into the City, where I had the Satisfaction to see two very ridiculous Sight. The first was a Bawd carted for an Action which had some relation to that memorable Day. For she was convicted of being an Accomplice in setting

* *Proprietor of a Puppet-Show.*

Fire

Fire to an ancient and venerable Pile of the City, that is, she was found guilty of being instrumental in the clapping an Alderman. I stood in a Bookseller's Shop to see her pass, which Bookseller † was packing up some Scoundrel Authors to send them away to the Plantations. These Authors are Criminals, which being sentenced to be burnt here, have at last found Grace and got off with Transportation. You remember the terrible News that we heard at P ——— which, as it sprung from a ridiculous Occasion, that is, my Lady Mayoress's Gossiping, has had a comical Consequence. For the Common-Council have made an Order, by which my Lady Mayoress is dispensed during the Wars, from seeing those Children born in the City, which are got in the Suburbs; that is, from being present at one of their Wive's Labours. But it is time to return to the Fair. Last Night I took a turn in the Cloisters, where I was entertained with a great many Dialogues between Vizor and *Vallency* * Wig, upon which I leave you to be Judge, whether

† Mr. Richard Parker, under the Royal Exchange.

* A celebrated Perriwig-maker.

my Eyes or my Ears were the better entertained of the two. For I heard a great deal of unintelligible Language, addressed to a great many invisible Faces. As if because the Women had resolved not to be Seen, the Men had determined not to be Understood; and had in revenge eclipsed the Light of their Understanding by Fustian, as the others had obscured the Lustre of their Eyes by Velvet. Formerly the Ladies made use of White and Red to attract, but within these thirty Years black has succeeded, and the Devil is found more tempting in his proper Colour. I have neither time nor place for any more. You shall have the rest by the first Opportunity.

Yours, &c.

John Dennis.

To WALTER MOYLE, *Esq;*

Dear Sir,

YOUR long Silence made me conjecture, that you are so intent upon being Burgees of *Salisbury*, that you had forgot the Citizens of *Covent-Garden*. At last I received an agreeable Letter from you. You had

had best have a care of talking in *Cornwal*, at the rate that you write to your Friends. If you do, the *Cornish-men* may not think you rightly qualified to represent them. When you left the Town, you talked of a *Critical Correspondence* between us. But Idleness on your side, and ill Humour on mine, have baulked a very hopeful Design. But an Accident has lately happened, which obliges me to provoke you. For there has just been a Play acted, called *The Mock-Marriage*, the Author * of which, whose Name I have forgot, asserts dogmatically in his Preface, that he who writes by Rule shall only have his Labour for his Pains. I know not what this Author can mean by this. For, whom does he pretend to persuade by this fine Assertion? Not Mr. *Moyle*, and *Me* at least. We know indeed very well, that a Man may write regularly, and yet fail of pleasing; and that a Poet may please in a Play that is not regular. But this is eternally true, that he who writes regularly *ceteris paribus*, must always please more, than he who trans-

* *This Play was written by Mr. Thomas Scot, who also wrote another, called the Unhappy Marriage.*

gresses the Rules. Nothing can please in a Play but Nature, no not in a Play which is written against the Rules; and the more there is of Nature in any Play, the more that Play must delight. Now the Rules are nothing but an Observation of Nature: For Nature is Rule and Order it self. There is not one of the Rules, but what might be used to evince this. But I shall be contented with shewing some Instances of it, even in the Mechanical Rules of the Unities. And first for that of Place; it is certain that it is in Nature impossible, for a Man who is in the Square in *Covent-Garden*, to see the things, that at the same time are transacted at *Westminster*. And then for that of Time, a reasonable Man may delude himself so far, as to fancy that he sits for the space of twelve Hours, without removing, eating or sleeping; but he must be a Devil that can fancy he does it for a Week. What I have said may evince a Necessity of observing the Unities of Time and of Place, if a Poet would thoroughly write up to Nature: And then the Unity of Action follows on course. For, that two Actions which are entire, and independent

dent, should happen in the same short space of Time, in the same little compass of Place, begin together, go on together, and end together, without obstructing or confounding one another; this indeed may be done upon the Stage, but in Nature it is highly improbable. Well then, since the Rules are nothing but Nature it self, and nothing but Nature can please, and since the more that any Play has of Nature, the more that Play must delight; it follows, that a Play which is regularly written, *ceteris paribus*, must please more than a Play which is written against the Rules, this is a Demonstration. Rule may be said to be to a Play, what Symetry of Parts is known to be to a Face: The Features may be regular, and yet a great or a delicate Air may be wanting. And there may be a commanding or engaging Air, in a Face whose Features are not regular. But this all the World must allow of, that there can never be seen any sovereign Beauty, where Air and Regularity of Features are not united. Thus is Reason against this Author, but the Mischief is, that Experience is against him too. For all

your Dramatick Poets must confess, that the Plays which they have writ with most Regularity, have been those which have pleased most. I must trouble you with another Dramatical Criticism, but not till the next Opportunity.

I am Yours, &c.

October 26. 1695.

John Dennis.

To Mr. CONGREVE.

Bake in Cornwall Oct. 7. 1695.

Dear Sir,

I Came home from the *Lands-End* Yesterday, where I found three Letters from Mr. *Dennis*, and one from You with a humorous Description of *Jahn Abassus* *. Since the dubbing of *Don Quixote*, and the

* A Nickname given to a stupid *Sussex* Squire, fond of Plays and Poems, who came up to Town, as he said, to see the Poets of the Age, and was by some of them introduced among the *Wits* of *Will's* Coffee-House in *Covent-Garden* among whom they admitted him, under the form of a Poetical Consecration, as a Member of their Society.

Cor-

Coronation of *Petrarch* in the *Capitol*, there has not been so great a Solemnity as the Consecration of *John Abassus*. In all the *Pagan-Ritual*, I never met with the Form of *Poetical Orders*; but I believe the Ceremony of *Consecrating* a Man to *Apollo*, is the same with *devoting* a Man to the *Dii Manes*, for both are Martyrs to Fame. I believe not a Man of the *Grave-Club* durst assist at this ridiculous Scene, for fear of laughing outright. *Wycherley* was in his Kingdom, and for my part I would have rather fate *there* than in the *House of Commons*. Would to God I could laugh with you for one Hour or two at all the ridiculous things that have happened at *Will's Coffee-house* since I left it, it is the merriest place in the World; like *Africa*, every Day it produces a *Monster*; and they are begot there just as *Pliny* says they are in *Africa*, Beasts of different kinds come to drink, mingle with one another and beget Monsters. Present my humble Duty to my new Lord, ‡ and tell him, that I am preparing an Address to congratulate his Accession to the Throne of the Rabble. Tell the Lady who was the Author of the *Hue*

‡ *Halifax*.

and

and *Cry* after me, she might have sent out a hundred *Hues* and *Crys* before she would have found a Poet. I took an effectual Course not to be apprehended for a Poet; for I went down clad like a Soldier, with a new Suit of Cloaths on, and, I think, there could not have been a better Disguise for a Poet, unless I had stolen Dr. *Blackmore's* Coat. Mr. *Dennis* sent me down *Peter Motteux's* Parodie. I can say very little of the *Poem*, but as for the *Dialogue*, I think, it was the first time that *Motteux* suffered any body to talk with him, though indeed here he interrupts *Monsieur Boileau* in the midst of the first word. My humble Service to Mr. *Wycherly*, I desire you would write me some News of the Stage, and what Progress you have made in your Tragedy. *

I am

Your affectionate Friend

and Servant,

W. MOYLE.

* The Mourning-Bride.

Mr.

Mr. CONGREVE's Answer to
Mr. MOYLE.

Dear Sir,

I Cannot but think, that a Letter from me in *London*, to you in *Cornwal* is like some ancient Correspondence between an Inhabitant of *Rome* and a *Cimmerian*. May be, my way of writing may not be so modestly compared with *Roman* Epistles; but the resemblance of the Place will justify the other part of the Parallel. The subterraneous Habitations of the Miners, and the Proximity of the *Bajæ* help a little; and while you are at *Bake*, let *Bake* be *Cumæ*, and do you supply the Place of *Sybilla*. You may look on this as Raillery, but I can assure you, nothing less than Oracles are expected from you in the next Parliament, if you succeed in your Election, as we are pretty well assured you will. You wish your self, with us at *Will's Coffee-house*; and all here wish for you, from the *President* of the *Grave-Club*, to the most puny Member of the Rabble; they who *can* think,

think of you, and the rest talk of you. There is no such Monster in this *Africa*, that is not sensible of your Absence; even the worst natured People, and those of least Wit lament it, I mean, half Criticks and Quiblers. To tell you all that want you, I should name all the Creatures of *Covent-Garden*, which like those of *Eden-Garden* would want some *Adam* to be a Godfather and give them Names. I cannot tell whether I may justly compare our *Covent-Garden*, to that of *Eden*, or no; for tho' I believe we may have variety of strange Animals equal to *Paradise*, yet I fear we have not amongst us the *Tree of Knowledge*. It had been much to the Disadvantage of *Pliny*, had the *Coffee-house* been in his Days; for sure he would have described some who frequent it; which would have given him the Reputation of a more fabulous Writer than he has now. But being in our Age it does him a Service, for we who know it, can give Faith to all his Monsters. You who took care to go down into the Country unlike a Poet, I hope will take care not to come up again like a Politician; for then, you will add a new Monster to the *Coffee-house*, that was

never seen there before. So you may come back again, in your Soldier's Coat, for in that you will no more be suspected for a Politician, than a Poet. Pray come upon any Terms, for you are wished for by every body, but most wanted by your

Affectionate Friend

and Servant,

W. CONGREVE.

To Mr. CONGREVE at

TUNBRIDGE.

London, August 8. 1695.

Dear Sir,

MR. Moyle and I have impatiently expected to hear from you. But if the *Well* which you drink of had sprung up from *Lethe*, you could not have been more forgetful of us. Indeed, as the *Tunbridge-Water*.

Water is good for the *Spleen*, it may be said in some manner to cause *Oblivion*. But I will yet a while hope that Mr. *Moyle* and I are not of the Number of things that plague you. However I am so sensible of your being mindful of me in Town, that I should be ungrateful, if I should complain that you do not remember me where you are. Mr. *Moyle* tells me that you have made a favourable mention of me, to a certain Lady of your Acquaintance, whom he calls CLOE. But then to mortifie the Old Man in me, or indeed rather the Young, he assured me, that you had given a much better Character of him. However, for that which you gave of me I cannot but own my self obliged to you, and I look upon your Kindness as so much the greater, because I am sensible that I do not deserve it. And I could almost wish that your good Qualities, were not quite so numerous, that I might be able to make you some Return *in Specie*. For commending you now, I do you but Justice, which a Man of Honour will do to his Enemy; whereas you, by partial Praise, have treated me like a Friend. I make no doubt, but that you do me the Justice to believe

believe that I am perfectly yours; and that your Merit has engaged me, and your Favours obliged me to be all my Life time,

Dear Sir,

Your most Humble Servant,

JOHN DENNIS.

To Mr. DENNIS.

Dear Sir,

IT is not more to keep my Word, than to gratifie my Inclination, that I write to you; and though I have thus long deferred it, I was never forgetful of you, nor of my Promise. Indeed I waited in Expectation of something that might enable me to return the Entertainment I received from
your

your Letters: but you represent the Town so agreeable to me, that you quite put me out of Conceit with the Country; and my Designs of making Observations from it.

Before I came to *Tunbridge*, I proposed to my self the Satisfaction of communicating the Pleasures of the Place to you: But if I keep my Resolution, I must transcribe, and return you your own Letters; since I must own I have met with nothing else so truly delightful. When you suppose the Country agreeable to me, you suppose such Reasons why it should be so, that while I read your Letter I am of your Mind; but when I look off, I find I am only charmed with the Landskip which you have drawn. So that if I would see a fine Prospect of the *Country*, I must desire you to send it me from the *Town*; as if I would eat good Fruit *here* perhaps the best way were, to beg a Basket from my Friends in *Covent-Garden*. After all this, I must tell you, there is a great deal of Company at *Tunbridge*, and some very agreeable; but the greater part, is of that sort, who at home converse only with their own Relations; and consequently when they come abroad, have few Acquain-

Acquaintance; but such as they bring with them. But were the Company better, or worse, I would have you expect no Characters from me; for I profess my self an Enemy to Detraction; and who is there, that can justly merit Commendation? I have a mind to *write* to you, without the pretence of any manner of *News*, as I might *drink* to you without naming a *Health*; for I intend only *my Service to you*. I wish for you very often, that I might recommend you to some new Acquaintance that I have made here, and think very well worth the keeping; I mean Idleness and a good Stomach. You would not think how People eat here; every Body has the Appetite of an *Ostrich*, and as they drink *Steel* in the Morning, so I believe at Noon they could digest *Iron*. But sure you will laugh at me for calling Idleness a new Acquaintance; when, to your Knowledge, the greatest part of my Business, is little better. Ay, But here's the Comfort of the Change; I am idle now, without taking pains to be so, or to make other People so; for Poetry is neither in my Head, nor in my Heart. I know not whether these Waters may have

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any

any Communication with *Lethe*, but sure I am, they have none with the Streams of *Helicon*. I have often wondered how those wicked Writers of Lampoons, could croud together such quantities of execrable Verses, tagged with bad Rhimes, as I have formerly seen sent from this place: but I am half of Opinion now, that this Well is an *Anti-Hypocrene*. What if we should get a Quantity of the Water privately conveyed into the Cistern at *Will's* Coffee-House, for an Experiment? But I am extravagant—Tho' I remember *Ben. Johnson* in his Comedy of *CYNTHIA'S Revels*, makes a *Well*, which he there calls the *Fountain of Self-Love*, to be the Source of many entertaining and ridiculous Humours. I am of Opinion, that something very comical and new might be brought upon the Stage, from a Fiction of the like Nature. But now I talk of the Stage, pray if any thing new should appear there, let me have an Account of it: for tho *Plays* are a kind of *Winter-Fruit*, yet I know there are now and then some *Wind-falls* at this time of Year, which must be presently served up, lest they should not keep till the proper Season of Entertainment.

ment. 'Tis now the time, when the Sun breeds Insects; and you must expect to have the Hum and Buz about your Ears, of Summer Flies and small Poets. Cuckoos have this time allowed them to sing, tho they are damned to Silence all the rest of the Year. Besides, the approaching Feast of *Sr. Bartholomew* both creates an Expectation and bespeaks an Allowance of unnatural Productions and monstrous Births. Methinks the Days of *Bartholomew-Fair* are like so many Sabbaths, or Days of Privilege, wherein Criminals and Malefactors in Poetry, are permitted to creep abroad. They put me in mind (tho at a different time of Year) of the Roman *Saturnalia*, when all the Scum, and Rabble, and Slaves of *Rome*, by a kind of annual and limited Manumission, were suffered to make abominable Mirth, and profane the Days of *Jubilee*, with vile Buffoonry, by Authority. But I forget that I am writing a Post Letter, and run into length like a Poet in a Dedication, when he forgets his Patron to talk of himself. But I will take care to make no Apology for it, lest my Excuse (as Excuses generally do) should add to the Fault. Besides, I would have no

appearance of Formality, when I am to tell
you, that *I am,*

Tunbridge-Wells,
Aug. 11th 1695.

Your real Friend,

and Humble Servant,

W. CONGREVE.

To Mr. DENNIS.

NAMUR taken, and a Letter from
Mr. *Dennis*, were two of the most
agreeable Surprizes I ever met with. And
nothing but the Reflection, how *dear* the
Conquest will *cost us*, I mean, the innume-
rable ill *Poems* it will produce, could allay

the Pleasure. *Attila* † has watch'd for a Victory a long time, and will not miss this Opportunity to mortify the Day of Thanksgiving, and scribble away the publick Joy. The *Devil* take *Will's Coffee-house*. I could be the easiest Man in the World under my Calamity, if it were not for some of the Company there; who are now the greatest Enemies I have in the World, worse than the Company from which I am just now stolen to write this Letter. Among the rest is a *Country Gentleman* who dictates Politicks abundantly, for with us, as well as at *Old Rome*, we take *Dictators* from the *Plough*, but *ours* are such as ought never to remove their Hands from it.

I am Tours, &c.

W. MOYLE.

† *Attila*: or, the *Hund*. A Nickname given to *Peter Mottaux*.

R 3 To

To the SAME.

WHILE you are happy in the Politics of the *Grave-Club*, * and the Puns of the Rabble, you have no regard to the forlorn State of your poor Friend. Before I left *London*, I feigned an hundred agreeable melancholy Pleasures, with which I might fool away a Retirement, but now I detest being alone, and question whether Mankind or Solitude be the fitter Subject for a Satire. Of this, I am sure, that **** rather than be *alone* created the ****, and *Man* rather than be *alone* chose a *Wife*. Whatever advantage I have lost by my *Country Life*, I believe, I gained the gift of *Prophecy* in the Wilderness, for I foretold the *Poem* with which *Attila* has visited us.

I am yours, &c.

W. MOYLE.

* *Two Covent-Garden Clubs.*

To

To the SAME.

TO your Business hereafter, but first let's have a Dance, as Mr. *Bays* says. When I came home from the *West*, where I had passed a Fortnight, I found your Three Letters full of Wit and Humour. I was charmed with the Scandal you writ in the first, and enclosed in the last, viz. *Attila's* Poem. I found the Preamble before the Poem to be like a *Sooterkin* before a *Dutch* Child. I read it over in great haste, in hopes to be pleased at last with the end of it, but this is the first time I ever disliked his Conclusion. For he threatens strange things. I hope, 'tis only *in terrorem*, if not, I hope G—in his Goodness will send us a *Peace*, and prevent his *Songs of Triumph*. Certainly, *since the D—I was dumb there never was such a Poet. I am,*

Yours, &c.

W. MOYLE.

To ***** †

Jan. 26. 1698-9.

Dear Sir,

I Will for once put on the Person of a *Rakehell* to oblige you, and act a Part which you know I abhor.

*I, that I may successful prove,
Transform my self to what you love.*

You act like a Man of Honour in opposing the ridiculous *Reformation* of Sir *John P——*, and in doing the utmost in your Station, by your Vote and Example, to countenance the crying Sins of the Nation. 'Tis generously done of you to assert the *English Birthright* of *Whoring* so nobly, you who represent the head Quarters of intrigue, the *University*. You shew a great deal of *Christian Charity* in consulting the Ease of *tender Consciences*, who cannot come up to the modern Iniquities of the *Court*; the

† This jocular Letter was never before Printed.

old

old Whigs are humbly of opinion that the *Church-party* (for we allow the *Church* to be *most Christian* in her Indulgence to *human Frailties*) should have carried the *War* into the Enemy's Country, and loaded this *Fanatick-Bill* with a *Rider* against *Hypocrisie* and *Corruption*. You should have sowed your *Sins* just as the *Fanaticks* sow their *Grants*. 'Twould have been a more decent *Interment* of the *Bill*.

Since you have *disbanded* the *Army*, and saved our *Liberties*, for G—d's sake make a *thorough Reformation* of *Abuses* crept into the *Administration*, and set us at ease in our *Pleasures* as well as our *Properties*. Abolish the Tyrannical Power of *Justices of Peace*, disband their *Guards of Constables* and *Watchmen*, demolish their *Garrisons of Compters, Roundhouses*, and other Badges of Slavery, which disturb the Midnight-Riots of the Subject. Send Sir *H. C.* to *Bridewell*, and *P—* to *Bedlam*, for I believe the poor Wretch is run *mad* with *Reformation*. Can you contrive no way in the Earth to rid the *House* of his *Ghostly Authority*? cannot you serve *him* as his *Father* was served by a *General* of the *Cavaliers*? If you
never

never heard the Story, HUDIBRAS will tell it you.

And as *another* * of the same Degree and Parts, in Arms and Fame; That in the same Cause had engag'd, And War with equal Conduct wag'd, By vent'ring only but to thrust, His Head a Span beyond his Post, B' a Gen'ral of the *Cavaliers* Was dragg'd thro' a Window by the Ears †.

Betty Mackrell, or some other discreet Bawd should demand a Conference with him in the Lobby, lug him out by the Ears, and send him upon a Mission to the *West-Indies* to preach his *Morals* to Father *Hennepin's* Nations, who are not civilized into *Lewdness*, nor *wise enough* to be *wicked*. On this side of the Globe he'll make no *Converts* but *such* as his *Namesake* in the *Aëts* made *Eunuchs*.

Give my Service to *Dick* ***** and congratulate him upon the great Deliverance the Churches of *Covent-Garden* and

* Sir Erasmus P——

† *Hud.* part 2d. Cant. 1.

St. James's have obtained from the *Persecution* which threatened them. I had forgot to ask you whether there were any *Sump- tuary* in this *Fout Bill*, if there had, *Jack Tredenham* would have prepared a *saving Clause* for *Lobsters* and *Lampreys*; give him my Service too.

Tell *Fletcher* it was with Tears in my Eyes that I read the Account of his *Apos- tacy*: Is it possible that such a furly Patriot, who all his Life long had talked, writ and rebelled for *Liberty*, should all of a sudden turn *Projector* for an *Universal Monarchy*. However, I desire you to send me down the Pamphlet in a Letter. It is called, *DISCORSI delle COSE di SPAGNA* — *sed a- moto quæramus seria ludo*. I received a very good Relation of the last *Victory* over the Court. I like the *Division*, especially with such a *Majority*. I hope you'll print a *List* to distinguish — The Country likes you ex- tremely. My Service to all our Friends.

I am, Sir,

your most obliged Friend

and Servant,

W. MOYLE.

V E R S E S

T O

WALTER MOYLE, *Esq*;

DEAR MOYLE, blest Youth, whose forward Wit
 pursues
 The noble Pleasures, Reason bids Thee chuse:
Reason, which ruling by the Laws of Sense,
 Does a just, easy Government dispense;
 Quitting those Laws, turns Tyrant, wildly reigns,
 Reveal'd by Projects of distemper'd Brains.
 Dear MOYLE, what shall I fancy now employs
 Thy time? What prudent, what well-chosen Joys?
 Dost thou with speed the flying Fair pursue?
 Beauty leads on, and Pleasure is in view;
 Oh! boldly follow, she's reserv'd for you. }
 Retiring Modesty, Triumphant Love,
 In Her warm Breast, a doubtful Combat move:
 She yields, she yields, I see the blushing Maid
 Storm'd from without by You, within betray'd
 By her own Heart, no longer can hold out,
 The Victor enters now the long maintain'd Redoubt.
 Or to this Joy do choicest Books succeed,
 Which you with Judgment chuse, with Judgment read?
 Search-

Searching the ancient Stores of *Greece* and *Rome*,
 And bring from them their useful Treasures home.
 Or does some honest, some delightful Friend,
 With easy Conversation recommend
 The sparkling Wine, while Wit and Mirth attend?
 CONGREVE, the matchless rising Son of Fame,
 Whom all Men envy, tho' they dare not blame.
 HOPKINS, whose Mind and Muse both void of Art,
 Gives him a well fix'd Title in your Heart.
 DUNKAN, whose Wit and Reason each Man loves,
 Charms us like Beauty, and like Books improves.
 EYTON, whom Vice becomes, of Vigour full,
 Foe to the Godly, Covetous, and Dull.
 Thus while in Town so early you possess,
 Whatever perfects Life and Happiness;
 And in their Turns do all the Pleasures know,
 Which Learning, Beauty, Friendship can bestow,
 In this Retreat, I'm pleas'd in following You
 In a wild Maze of Thoughts; and so, dear Friend Adieu.

1693.

A. HAMMOND.

T O

WALTER MOYLE, *Esq;*

TO you, *dear Youth*, in these unpolish'd Strains
 And rural Notes, your exil'd Friend complains.
 With pain, 'tis tedious Banishment I bear
 From the dear Town and You, the dearest there.
 Hourly,

Hourly, my Thoughts present before my view,
 Those charming Joys, which once, alas! I knew,
 In Wine, in Love, in Friendship, and in You. }
 Now Fortune has withdrawn that pleasing Scene,
 We must not for a while appear again.
 Here, in its stead, unusual Prospects rise,
 That dull the Fancy, and disguise the Eyes.
 Bleak Groves of Trees, shook by the Northern Winds,
 And heavy Aspects of unthinking Hinds.
 No beauteous Nymph to fire the Youthful Heart,
 No Swain instructed in the Muses Art.
Hammond alone, is from this Censure free,
Hammond, who makes the same Complaint with me;
 Alike on both, the want of You does strike,
 Which both repine at, and lament alike;
 While here I stay, condemn'd to desert Fields,
 Deny'd the Pleasure which the City yields,
 My Fortune, by the chance of War deprest,
 Lost at these Years, when I might use them best.
 To crown your Youth, conspiring Graces join,
 Honour and Learning, Wealth and Wit are Thine.
 With Charms united ev'ry Heart you move,
 Esteem in Men, in vanquish'd Virgins Love.
 Tho' clogg'd with Cares, I drag my restless Hours,
 I envy not the flowing ease of Yours;
 Still may they roll with circling Pleasures on,
 Nor You neglect to seize them as they run.
 Time hastes away with an impetuous flight,
 And all its Joys soon vanish from our sight,
 Which we shall mourn, we us'd not while we might. }
 In full delights, let sprightly *Southern* live,
 With all that Women, and that Wine can give.
 May gen'rous *Wycherley*, all Sufferings past,
 Enjoy a well deserv'd Estate at last.

Fortune

Fortune, with Merit, and with Wit, be Friends,
And sure, tho' slowly make a large amends.
Late, very late, may the great *Dryden* die,
But when deceas'd may *Congreve* rise as high.
To him, my Service, and my Love commend,
The greatest Wit, and yet the truest Friend.
Accept, dear *Moyle*, a Letter writ in haste,
Which my impatient Friendship dictates fast.
Friendship, like Love unartfully express'd,
Yet by their being so, they're both shown best.
Each, no cold Leisure for our Thoughts affords,
But at a heat, strikes out our eager Words.
The Soul's Emotion, most her Truth assures,
Such as I feel, while I subscribe me Your's,

1693.

C. HOPKINS.

To ANTHONY HAMMOND Esq;

AS when a Prophet feels the God retir'd,
By whom He had a long time lain inspir'd,
His Eyes no more with sacred Fury roll,
No more Divine Impulses move his Soul.
The *Fires* that warm'd him, with the God are gone,
The Deity withdrawn, the Charm is done.
So now my Muse can no more Rapture boast,
Since you went hence, Her Inspiration's lost.
Robb'd of her Flame, all languishing she lies,
And, Swan-like, only Sings, before she Dies.
But you, my Friend, to different Fortune move,
And crown your Days with Wine, your Nights with Love.
In flowing Bliss, unmeasur'd Time you waste,
Your ravishing Delights for ever last,

Long.

Long, long e'er this, you've often been possess'd
 Of all your Wish could frame to make you blest.
 When *You*, and *Southern*, *Moyle*, and *Congreve* meet,
 The best, good Men, with the best natur'd Wit,
 Good Wine, good Company, the better Feast,
 And whene'er *Wycherley* is present, best.
 Then, then your Joys are perfectly compleat,
 And Sacred Wit is at the noblest height.
 Oh! how I long to be allow'd to share,
 And gain a Fame, by mingling with you there,
 The Country now can be no longer borne,
 And since you first are gone, I must return;
 I come, I come, dear *Hammond*, to pursue
 Pleasures I cannot know, depriv'd of you.
 Restless, as Lovers, 'till we meet, I live,
 And envy this, because 'twill first arrive.
 With Joy I learnt *Dryden* designs to crown
 All the great things he has already done.
 No Loss, no Change of Vigour, can he feel;
 Who dares attempt the Sacred *Mantuan* still:
 Adieu——

And yet methinks, I owe too much to you,
 To part so coldly with a bare Adieu.
 But what Requital can I make you more?
 You've put all Recompence beyond my Power.
 Fain would my grateful Thoughts contrive a way,
 For ev'ry generous Man's in pain to pay.
 'Tis not a suitable Return I give,
 Yet what it is, my best-good Friend, receive;
 Take the sincere best Wishes of my Soul;
Congreve, and *Moyle*, and *You*, possess it whole.
 Take all the Thanks, a Country-Muse can send,
 And in accepting this, oblige your Friend,

Lucianus Samosatensis, pseudon.

PHILOPATRIS:

OR, THE
LEARNER.

Translated by Dr. D R A K E.

The ARGUMENT.

The Design of this Dialogue is a Compliment to Trajan on some Victory in the East. He attempts to lash the Gods of the Gentiles, and the Christian Religion.

I must, as well as Mycillus, apologize to the Reader for some part of the Translation, since the Original is extremely obscure; but whether on Design by the unknown Author, or the Negligence of the Transcribers, I shall not determine.

I might likewise apologize for translating it at all, as being thought to reflect on the primitive Christianity; but first it is not

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very

very evident that it is designed to expose that; and next, the Weakness of those Things which seem to reflect that way, are more for the Advantage than Disservice of Religion.

INTERLOCUTORS.

Triephon, Critias, Cleolaus,

Trieph. WHAT's the matter, *Critias*? you seem to have metamorphosed your self into another Shape, contracting your Eye-brows backward; you seem to be wholly lost in Thought, and retired into the inmost Cabinet of your Breast, reeling and tumbling Head over Heels, as if, as the Poet terms it, you were playing *Christmas Gambols*, while a Paleness overspreads your Face. Have you any where seen *Cerberus* himself? or *Hecate* coming among us from Hell below? or have you unexpectedly fallen on the View of any of the Gods? But indeed you ought not to be affected in this manner; were all this true, or had you seen the World sinking into a Deluge of Water, as it did in the
time

time of *Ducalion*. What ho! good *Critias*! I speak to you? What the duce do you not hear me when I call so loud, and am so near? What are you angry with me? or are you deaf? or do you stay till I give you a good thump on the Back?

Critias. Alas; my good Friend *Triephton*, I have been hearing such a Discourse so monstrous and so variously handled, and was repeating those Trifles in my Memory, and shutting up my Ears, that I may never again hear such Stuff, but that I may grow Stone with too much Madness, and like the *Niobe* of old furnish the Poet with a new Fable. I had fallen headlong down a Precipice, my Head turning round with a certain Vertigo, had not you, my Friend, called so loudly on me; and so the same Story might be made of me as was of *Cleombrotus's* leap into the Sea, as if he sought to find that Immortality he had read of in *Pluto's* Discourse of the Soul.

Trieph. What wonderful Appearances or Narrations are these, that make so strange an Impression on *Critias*? For how many mad Poets, and juggling Philosophers, have attempted to touch your Mind in vain, while

you have thought all their Endcavours meer Trifles, not worth minding?

Critias. I prithee *Triephon* be quiet a little, and trouble me no farther; for you are not to be contemned or neglected by me.

Trieph. Nay, I am sensible that what you revolve thus in your Mind is neither a slight Matter, nor easily liable to Contempt, but I must needs say that it is an Arcanum, a mighty Mystery. For your Colour is of a sort of blewish Hue, and not being able to stand on your Legs, but tumbling Heels over Head, make you remarkable enough. But I prithee take a little Breath from the Evils that persecute you, and disembody those Trifles, that you may free yourself from any Pain in the Stomach.

Critias. But alas! good *Triephon*, get you speedily at the distance at least of an Acre of Ground from me, lest the Spirit should snatch you up on High, and being lifted above the Earth you become an Apparition amongst Men, and then falling down some where or other, you give the name of *Triephoneante* to some Sea, as *Icarus* did to the *Icarian* of old. For what I have heard this

Day

Day from those thrice execrable Sophists, have damnably turned my Stomach.

Trieph. Well, I'll get me back to what distance you please; do you but take some Breath from these Evils.

Critias. Fy, fy, fy, fy, those Trifles! alas! alas! alas! Evil Consultations! Woe! woe! woe! to vain Hope.

Trieph. Good Gods! What an Evaporation was here? what a Swelling? what a Tumour was there concealed within? what Tumults, what Struggles, what Agitations have shook thy Bowels? Why you have been all over Ears, that you have taken so much in as a Man would imagine you heard even at your Fingers ends.

Critias. But it is very admirable and surprising, Oh, *Triephton*, that I should hear at my Fingers ends when you found my Belly a perfect Bag-pipe, and my Head bringing forth; and the Male-nature in effect passing into the Female, and then be changed from Women into Birds: And in short, life it self is a prodigious thing, if we may believe the Poets.

But since I have met you in this place, let us step yonder into that *Plantane* Shade,

which banishes the Heat of the Sun Beams; and the Blackbirds and Swallows with their loud Notes enliven the Ears, by the Confort of the Birds, and the Waters gently falling o'er the Pebbles, sooth our Minds with pleasing Murmurs.

Trieph. Thither let us go with all my Heart, O *Critias*! But I am afraid lest what you have heard be some sort of Charm or Enchantment, and that that, which put you into such a Consternation should turn me into a Pestle, or the Bar of a Door, or some other inanimate thing.

Critias. As the heavenly *Jupiter* shall love me, you shall have no such Thing befall you.

Trieph. Poh, you have now frightened me more, now you have attested *Jupiter*: For how can he punish you, and you not keep your Oath? For I suppose you are not ignorant of the Nature and Qualifications of this your *Jupiter*?

Critias. What say you, Man? Why can't *Jupiter* strike me with his Thunder into Hell? Don't you know that he threw down all the Gods from that Celestial Floor? And thus he struck *Salomoneus* with a Thunder-Bolt, for presuming to mimic his Thunder?

And

And thus can't he punish every one as he's saucy now? *Homer*, and the rest of the Poets, make him the Vanquisher of the *Titans*, and Slayer of the Giants, and as such, celebrate him in their Verses.

Trieph. 'Tis true, *Critias*, you have run over all these old Tales which you have heard of the Achievements of *Jupiter*, but if it be not too disagreeable to you, I desire you would a little listen to me. Has not his Lust turn'd him into a Swan, a Satire and a Bull: And had not your Thundering, and Thunder-Bolt darting *Jupiter* scampered away with his Whore on his Back with Expedition; I don't know but he might still have been drawing the Plough, if he had fallen into the Hands of some of the Farmers of that Country; and so instead of darting of Thunder-Bolts, he would be himself driven on with a Goad. Is not the Story of this Jaunt, to the Country of the *Ethiops*, a very scandalous Thing, when it makes him feasting with those sooty-faced Gentlemen for a matter of twelve Days together soaking his Gills in Sack, especially when so long a Beard betrays him to be at years of Discretion; but I am really ashamed, and blush

to repeat his Frolick of the Eagle and *Ida*, and that he used to be impregnated all over his Body

Critias. Well then, shall I attest *Apollo*, who is both a great Prophet, and an admirable Physician.

Trieph. Do you mean that vain and lying Fortune-teller, who by obscure and ambiguous Answers imposed on and ruined *Cræsus*, and the *Salamines*, and innumerable others.

Critias. What say you to *Neptune*? who not only carries the *Trident*, but has a Voice so loud and terrible in War, that it exceeds that of a thousand, nay, of ten thousand Men; and is besides called the Shaker of the Earth, or cause of Earthquakes.

Trieph. What! mean you that Adulterer, who formerly ravished and debauched *Tyro*, the Daughter of *Salmonæus*, and whores on still, and is the Defender and Patron of such sort of Vices? For when *Mars* was by *Vulcan* caught in Charms and Bands which could not be loosed, while all the other Gods had not really so much Brags in their Face as to speak one word for him; *Equestrian Neptune*, spight of his Gravity, got him untied and set at Liberty, falling into abundance

abundance of sham Tears, like a Child in fear of his Master, or the old Wives, when they would impose on the little Girls; with these, and earnest Prayers, he pressed the poor Cuckold *Vulcan*, till he yielded to undo the Chains of *Mars*, and set him free. And that limping Deity's Bowels yearning at the Sobs of the ancient God, as *Neptune* complied with his Prayer, and delivered his Cuckold-Maker, which is a proof that he is not only a Whore-master, but a Preserver of Whore-masters.

Critias. Well, what think you of *Mercury*?

Trieph. For shame, not a word of that hardned Thief, and Cheat, and the officious Pimp to all *Jupiter's* most salacious Hours; and himself mad in the Pursuit of his libidinous Adulteries.

Critias. At this Rate I find I have but little hopes that you will accept of *Venus*, or *Mars*, since you have already fallen foul on them. Dismissing therefore these obnoxious Deities, I shall venture to propose *Minerva*, a Virgin Goddess, and armed, and terrible, with the *Gorgon's* Head affixt to her Bosom, the Giant-Killer. I can't imagine
that

that you have any thing to say against her; you can't say black is her Eye.

Trieph. Yes, I have something to say to her too, if you will answer me a few Questions.

Critias. Speak your mind freely.

Trieph. Tell me then, good *Critias*, what is the Use of this *Gorgon's* Head? and why is this placed on the Goddess's Bosom, for Ornament or Use?

Critias. As a terrible Sight, and a Defence against any evil Thing; besides that, with this she terrifies the Enemy, and drives the doubtful Victory to which side she pleases.

Trieph. Is it then by this monstrous Head that the azure-ey'd Maid becomes invincible?

Critias. Certainly.

Trieph. Why then don't we rather chuse to pay our Sacrifices of Bulls and Goats to those which preserve and defend, than to those who are only preserved and defended, that so they would render us invincible as well as *Minerva*?

Critias. Oh! Sir, you don't consider the Matter well, these Things have not the Power to defend one at a distance, as the Gods have,

have, but are only a Security to those that bear them about them.

Trieph. But pray what is the very Thing of the *Gorgon's* Head? for being intirely ignorant my self of the Matter, I desire to be informed by you who have found out those Things, and are arrived to a Perfection in your Knowledge in them; for I am indeed ignorant of all the Stories which are told about of her.

Critias. Why *Gorgon* was a most beautiful and lovely Maid: But when *Perseus* had by Treachery cut off her Head, as a learned Person, and famous for Art-Magick, conjured by certain Verses and Charms this Head, and then the Gods took it to themselves, and preserved it as a Buckler, or Defence.

Trieph. This noble Maxim till now was a Secret to me, that is, that the Gods stand in need of the Assistance of Men. But of what Use was she when alive? she played the Whore about in Taverns, or in Private, and then pretended herself a Virgin!

Critias. No, by the *unknown God at Athens*, she remained a pure Virgin to the very Minute she lost her Head.

Trieph.

Trieiph. So that if a Man cut off a Virgin's Head it will be a Bugbear to the Multitude? For when I was in *Crete*, I saw abundance of Virgins beheaded, and had I known this Secret before, I could have brought you a whole Cargo of *Gorgons*, and so made you an invincible General. The Poets then and Orators would have given me the Preference to *Perseus*, as having found abundance of *Gorgons*, whereas he found but one. But having accidentally mentioned *Crete* by the By, I yet remember that there were People that shewed me the *Sepulchre* of your *Jupiter*, and the obscure Vallies which nourished his Mother, where the Shrubs were yet green.

Critias. But you did not know the Incantation and Sacrifices which were to be made use of?

Trieiph. If these Things had been done by Incantations, they might perhaps have called her out of the Shades below, to revisit the cheerful Day; but these are Trifles, Follies, Fables, continued by the Poets to deceive. Let us therefore pass her likewise.

Critias. Well, but will you not admit *Juno*, *Jove's* Sister and his Wife?

Trieiph.

Trieph. Not a word of her, I beseech you, that we may not reflect on her abominable Conjunction with her Brother; fy, fly from her with the utmost Speed.

Critias. Whom then shall I invoke?

Trieph. God reigning on High, Great, E-therial, Eternal, the Son of his Father, the Spirit proceeding from the Father, One out of Three, and Three out of One. This you must esteem *Jupiter*; this you must look on as God.

Critias. What! you teach me Numeration, and yours is an Arithmetical Oath. For you number like *Nicomachus Gerasenus*: For I profess I don't understand what you say,—*Three One, One Three*: What do you mean, that *Pythagoric* Commander of Four, or Eight, or Thirty?

Trieph. Hold your Peace, for what I have yet to tell you, are worthy Silence. This is not the way of measuring the Footsteps of *Fleas*; for I will teach you what the Universe is, and who was before all Things, and what is the Constitution and Body of the World; for indeed I have met with that *Galilean* with a Pate bald behind, and an Aquiline Nose, who cutting the liquid
Air

Air penetrated into the very Third Heaven, and there learned all that was valuable and great; he renewed us by Water, and made us walk in the Steps of the Righteous, and redeemed us from the Regions of the Impious. And assure your self if you'll listen to me, I will truly make you a Man.

Critias. Most learned *Triephon*, go on with your Discourse, for there is a sort of Fear and Dread that has already seized me.

Trieph. Did you ever read the Comedy of *Aristophanes*, called the Birds?

Critias. Certainly, good Sir.

Trieph. In that you will find words to this Purpose:

*E're yet, the World assum'd this beauteous Face,
Rude Chaos, Night, and gloomy Shades took place,
And of deep Tartarus th' unbounded Space:
For yet, was neither Earth nor Air, nor Pole, &c.*

Critias. Your Quotation is true; but what of that?

Trieph. But there was a Light, incorruptible, invisible, and incomprehensible, which dissolved the Darkness, and banished by one word that Deformity, as that slow-tongu'd Gentleman has

has written: He fixt the Earth on the Waters, and spread the Heavens; formed the fixt Stars, and ordered the Course of those Planets which you adore as Gods. He adorned the Earth with Flowers, and drew Man out of nothing into Being; and is now in Heaven, beholding both the Just and Unjust, and writing down in a Book the Actions of every Man: And will repay to all on the Day that he has commanded.

Critias. Do they insert in the Book all that the Fates decree for all Men?

Trieph. I pray, good Friend *Critias*, give me an Account of these Fates; I'll listen to them with a very willing Ear.

Critias. Does not the celebrated Poet *Homer* say,

Believe me, none their Fate shall e'er Escape?

The same speaking of the great *Hercules*, says,

*Herculean Force contends in vain with Fate,
Tho' to the Gods most dear, and Son of Jove,
Vanquish'd by Fate and partial Juno's Hate,
On Oëta's top the Sting of Death did prove.*
Nay,

Nay, the same Poet insinuates, that our whole Life, and all the Changes of it are formed and ordained by Fate, when he says,

— *Where he shall undergo
Whatever God, or the malignant Fates
Have wove for him in their eternal Loom,
When first he left his Mother's general Womb.*

He is of Opinion too, that Fate orders those Delays of Journeys in a Foreign Land, as when *Ulysses* said,

*As when King Æolus with a gracious Smile,
Had to his Country o're the rolling Tide
Convey'd him safe, but yet that Fate deny'd.*

The Poet therefore proves, that all things are directed by Fate: and that *Jupiter*, rather than save his Son from Death at *Troy*, chose

*His bloody Tears from lofty Heaven to shower
For his Son's Death, beneath the Walls of Troy,
When him Patroclus wou'd e're long destroy.*

Wherefore

Wherefore good *Triephon* being satisfied with what I have said, I believe you would not say a word more of the *fatal Sisters*, no, tho' you had been lifted aloft with your Master, and been initiated in the Mysteries.

Trieph. But, my Friend *Critias*, how comes that Poet to assure us of a double and ambiguous Fate? so that if a Man does such a thing, such shall be his Fate; if he do another, another shall be his Fate; as, when speaking of *Achilles*, he says,

*My Mother Thetis for white Feet renown'd,
A double Fate for me does thus propound:
If here I stay beneath the Walls of Troy,
And with this Arm the Phrygian Host annoy
I to my Country shall no more return,
But after Death by Fame to Heaven be borne:
If to my Country I shou'd basely flie,
My Glory, Honour, and my Fame shou'd die;
But in their place an old inglorious Age I
should enjoy.*

But he says of *Euchenor*;

*Who went to Sea not ignorant of Fate,
For Polydus had told his future State,*

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That

*That he at home shou'd of Diseases die,
Or slain by Trojans in the Grecian Camp shou'd
lie.*

Are not these things written by *Homer*? or are they not ambiguous, and a doubtful Deception? But if you please, I shall add the Speech of *Jupiter*. Did he not tell *Egythus*, that if he abstained from the Adultery with his Sister, and the treacherous Murther of his Brother, the Fates had ordained him a long and happy Life; but that if he entertained Thoughts of committing those Evils, his Death was unavoidable. After this way of foretelling, I have, myself, often played the Prophet, viz. If you kill your Neighbour you shall be condemned to Death; but if you do not this Wickedness you will live happily;

Nor shou'd you thus incur a speedy Fate.

By this you must certainly see, how little Correctness and Exactness there is in the Poets: nay, how oblique, uncertain, and ambiguous they are, and fixt on no certain Bottom. Throw therefore aside all those things,

things, that you may be inserted into the
Celestial Books of the Good.

Critias. You remember and describe all
Things very well, my friend *Triephorus*; but
pray give me leave to ask you one Question:
Are the Affairs and all the Transactions of
the *Scythians* writ down in this Book?

Trieph. All, if Christ has been in their
Country.

Critias. You make abundance of Scribes
and Clerks in Heaven, to set down such a
multiplicity of Things.

Trieph. None of your jests, good *Cri-
tias*, nor speak any thing vile, contemptu-
ous of the right God; but being a *Catechu-
men* or *Probationer*, if you desire to live
for ever, suffer me to influence you with
what I say. For if he spread the Heavens
like an Hide, and fix the Earth and laid its
Foundations on the Waters, and made Man
out of Nothing, brought him into Being,
and to enjoy this Light, where is the great
Wonder that the Actions of all Men should
be entered and registered in the heavenly
Book? For, suppose you should build a
little House, and should get together there
a great many Men-Servants, and Maid-Ser-

vants, the least and most vile and inconsiderable thing that was done among them could never escape your Knowledge: How much easier therefore is it for that God who created all Things, to run them over, and observe the Designs and Actions of every one? For your Gods are looked on by all Men of true Knowledge, to be no more than meer Sound and Trifles of a mechanic Make.

Critias. What you say is very true, and in me the Fable of *Niobe* is inverted, for from a Stock and Stone, I am turned into a Man. This God therefore I propose to you, and swear by him that you shall not suffer any ill from me.

Trieph. If you love me from your Heart, and your Friendship be sincere, I believe you will do me no Injury.

Nor will you think one thing, another say.

But to the Point, and let us at last hear those wonderful and amazing Things which you had delivered to you, that I may likewise turn pale, but I will not like *Niobe* become mute and silent, but be metamorphosed

phosed into a Bird like *Philomela*, and chant out in a tragical Tone in the green Fields your surprizing Consternation.

Critias. No, by the Son out of the Father, that shall not be.

Trieph. Speak therefore you that receive from the Spirit the Power and Force of speaking, and I sit here,

Waiting Achilles, till his Song was done.

Critias. Walking in the High-street to buy what I had occasion for, I spied a great Mob got together, and whispering something into one another's Ears; and so greedy of hearing they were, that they seemed to hang upon the Lips of those that spoke; casting therefore my Eyes about them, and looking carefully among them all to see if I could find any Friend or Acquaintance of mine, I discovered *Crato* the Politician, one that from a Boy had been my Friend, and Companion, and intimate Acquaintance.

Trieph. I know him well, you mean the Comptroller; but what followed.

Critias. Having removed a good many with my Elbow, I made my way into the

Front of them, and after the first Salute placed my self by him, but there was a little dwarfish, old, lean Scoundrel, whose Name was *Chariteenus*, who whistling at his Nose, he coughed first something inwardly, and then spit out a sort of languid unconcocted Matter, more blue and wan than Death; and after this Exordium or Prelude he began in a small, whining, low Voice to speak in this manner. *This Man* (as I said before) *leaves the Tricks of the Overseers and Comptrollers, and shall pay the Usurers what is due to them, and all Pensions both private and publick, and will take any Pretension not enquiring into any Man's Art*: Nay, he went on in more bitter Trifles than these; but those who were about him were very much delighted with his Words. There was besides, another such sort of Fellow, whose Name was *Chevocharamus*, whose Cloak was very polish and dirty, without any Shoes on his Feet, or Covering to his Head, who spoke betwixt whiles extreamly in his Praise, and grinning his Applause. — As a certain Man who came out of the Mountains in bad Cloaths, his Head shaved, shewed me, written in *Hieroglyphick*, that is, secret and

mysterious

mysterious Letters in the Theatre, that this Man should bring an Inundation of Gold and throw it into the High-way: But, said I, according to the Rules of *Aristander*, and *Artimedorus*, these your Dreams will not have so happy an Event; but your Debts will be encreased according to the proportion of your yearly Receipts; and that Fellow which was so rich and abounding in Gold, will be in very great need of a Farthing. But you seem to be lulled into a Slumber, and to be so full of strange Visions, as if it were Midnight, and you were placed and charmed on the Rock *Leucas*, and the Coast of Dreams. But I had no sooner done, but they all with one accord burst out into a great Laughter, as if they would choak themselves, and contemning me as ignorant. But turning to *Crato*, I said, what have I made Enquiry into all Dreams like a Madman, to use the Phrase of the Comic Poet, and not according to *Aristander* and *Artimedorus*? Hold your Peace, replied he, *Critias*: For if you'll hold your Tongue, I will inform you in the most excellent of Sacred Rites, and let you know

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all

all future Things: These are no Dreams but Realities; and the Event you will find come to pass in the Month called *Mesori*.

Having heard *Crato* talk at this rate, and known their fickle Mind, I blushed, and departed with a melancholy Countenance, abundantly accusing *Crato*. But one of the Gang looking on me with a fierce and tyrannick Phiz, plucking me by the Coat, instigated by that ancient Deity, and believing I had made a Covenant with him, he persuades unhappy me with abundance of Words to go to those Deceivers and juggling Fellows, and incur the Black Day, as the Proverb has it, for he said he had learnt of them all things that related to the Sacred Rites and Mysteries. And thus we past the Iron Gates and Brazen Entrance. Having mounted several Stairs, we got into a House, illustrious for its Golden Roofs, like that of *Menelaus*, mentioned by *Homer*; and I took a view with Admiration of all those things, which surprized the insular Youth *Telemachus*. In my Entrance I saw not *Helena*, as he did, but a Company of palefaced Fellows, with their Faces bowed down to the Ground. When they saw us they were pleased, and
came

came from the other side up to us. They asked me if I brought them any ill News? for they seemed to wish for the worst, and were pleased with sorrowful and evil Events, as the Furies in the Theatre. Having joyned their Noddles together, and whispered among themselves a litte while, they began to ask me these Questions: Who, what, and whence are you? What is your Country? Who were your Parents? for your Habit shews you to be frugal. There are very few that are frugal, as far as I can find by all my Observation, said I. But my name is *Critias*, I am of the same City as you. But when those sublime Fellows, and who walk in the Air asked me what News from the World, and how the Affairs of the City and the World went, I answered, very well, and are very likely so to continue. But they with a denying Brow said, you are, Sir, mistaken in the matter, the City is in Labour with Evil, and her Birth will be miserable. Then I replied in their way, You who are lifted above the Earth aloft, and viewing every thing as it were from on High, have easily attained the Knowledge of these things. But I pray you

you what News from above? how go Squares
 in the Sky? will the Sun be eclipsed, and
 the Moon in a perpendicular be interposed?
 will *Mars* in a Quadrangle have his Af-
 pect to the Sun? and *Saturn* do the same
 in a Diameter? will *Venus* and *Mercury* be
 in Conjunction, and beget more Hermaphro-
 dices, with which you are pleased? will
 they send down impetuous vehement Rains?
 will they cloath the Earth in Snow, and
 scatter down Hail and Blights on the Corn?
 will they send down the Plague and Famine?
 is that great Receptacle of Thunder full?
 But they presently gave me for an Answer,
 That there would immediately be a Change
 of Things; that Turmoils and Tumults
 were just coming to invade the City; and
 that our Armies would suddenly be over-
 come by the Enemy. Disturbed therefore
 at this Cant, and swelling like the Hen set
 on Fire, I cryed out with a loud Voice, Oh!
 ye most miserable of Men, be not thus puff-
 ed up with a vain Loquaciousness, sharpening
 and whetting your Teeth against Men who
 seem to have the Souls of Lions, breaking
 nothing but Darts and Spears, and shining in
 their Crested Helmets; but let all your false
 Bodings

Bodings be thrown on your own Heads, since in so vile a manner you would depress and run down your own native Country. For you have not heard these sinister Events in your Journies into the Sky, nor are you such expert Masters of judicial Astrology, and the Fate of Affairs. But if Prophecy and Delusion have imposed on you, you will incur and merit the double name of Superstition and Ignorance. These are the foolish Inventions of Women, and old doting Haggs. For these are the Pursuits of Womens Cares and Sollicitudes.

Trieph. Well, and what did these wise Men of *Gotham* say to this, good *Critias*?

Critias. They took no manner of notice of what I said, but returned to these their Thoughts of their own Invention, and on which they were thoroughly exercised. For, said they, let us fast ten Days without eating a Bit, and singing Hymns all the Night we shall dream of those things.

Trieph. Well, and what Reply made you to them? For they seemed to promise a thing very surprizing, and of wonderful Difficulty.

Critias. You may assure your self my Answer was not poor and fearful, but brisk and
reasonable,

reasonable, I think. For what will be the common Report of you, said I, by the People, and whenever you dream you deliver such monstrous Events? But they with a doggish kind of a Grinn lifted themselves a little off the place where they lay; but, continued I, if these things are true, O you Etherial Gentlemen, you will never be able with any Security to enquire into Fatalities; but won by these Delusions you will trifle your time away with what neither are or ever will be in being. But I know not by what Infatuation bewitched, you put your Faith in Dreams, and abominate what is valuable and excellent in reality. You take Delight in the Misfortune of Mankind, and do no manner of Good, and reap no Advantage from so great an Abomination. Distrust, therefore, those Foreign Imaginations, and those evil and depraved Counsels, and Prophaneness, lest God deliver you over to Destruction, for devoting your Country to Misfortunes, and speak to it in adulterated and wicked Words.

But they being all of one Mind, gave me a long and severe Reprimand. I will, if you please, add those things which they uttered,
that

that almost turned me to a silent Statue, till your wholesome Voice restored me to my Manhood, when I was now almost become a Stone.

Trieph. Hold, hold *Critias*, not a word more; dwell no longer on such abominable Fooleries as these; for you see how my Belly swells, and I go like a Woman ready to lie in; for the words you have uttered have bit me like a mad Dog: And if I take not a Dose of Oblivion for a salutiferous Medicine, they will dwell in my Memory, and haunt me at Home, and produce some Misfortune to me. Let us therefore quit this Discourse with a Prayer, beginning from the Father, and end with that celebrated Verse, as an Antidote against the Poison. But what do I see, is not that *Cleolaus* that trips it so fast along there? In good earnest it is he that is coming to us, shall we call to him?

Critias. With all my Heart.

Trieph. What, ho! *Cleolaus*, pass not your Friends with your over-haste, but come and let us participate if you bring any good News.

Cleo. Save ye, Gentlemen, save you, ye admirable Pair of Friends.

Trieph.

Trieph. What is the occasion of your great Speed, for you seem quite out of Breath? is there any News more?

Cleo. That Eye of Persia once is now no more,
Susa, that City fam'd, can fall no lower.
The noble Soil of rich Arabia's Down,
By mighty force of warlike Hands o'erthrown.

Critias. This is a Proof that God does not always neglect the Good, but increases their Welfare, raising them still to a higher pitch of Fortune. But *Triephton*, we have made a noble Discovery; for I was very solicitous what I should bequeath to my Children at my Death. For you know my Poverty, as I am thoroughly acquainted with your Affairs. This happy Day of our Emperor is a sufficient Legacy for my Children; nor shall I ever now want Riches, nor be frightened by the Peoples Murmurs and Vagromity.

Trieph. Yes, *Critias*, and this Prophecy will be leave to my Children, that they shall see *Babylon* overthrown; *Egypt* reduced to Servitude; the *Persians* under the Roman Yoke; and the Excursions of the *Scythians* repressed,

ed, and I could wish entirely suppressed. But let us with our Hands lifted up to Heaven adore that unknown Deity found at *Athens*, giving him hearty Thanks that he has thought us worthy to be subject to such a Power, and so much Virtue. Let us suffer those Idiots to play the Fool, contenting our selves with the Adage

— *These things are none of the Cares of HIPPOCLIDES.*



U

POST.

POSTSCRIPT.

I Did intend at the close of this Volume to have inserted a Review of Mr. MOYLE's Writings, but soon found it swelled under my Hands beyond the Compass of being conveniently added to this Book.

Among his *Posthumous Works*, lately published, his *Arguments* against the *Thundering Legion* have already been attacked by two Antagonists, and it may not therefore be improper to see whether that *Controversy* will be carried farther, before any *Observations* be made upon it.

As to the *Dialogue*, called PHILOPATRIS, though it be the Performance of another Gentleman (whose Abilities are well known to the learned World,) it is presumed it will not be unacceptable to those who have read so much Criticism concerning it in the first Volume of Mr. MOYLE's *Posthumous Works* before mentioned.

It highly deserves Notice, that the Judicial

cious and Learned Dr. *Jenkin* * observes, that, " The Doctrine of the *Blessed Trinity* " was declared to be the Doctrine of the " *Scriptures*, and objected against by *Heathens* long before the Council of *Nice*; and " quotes the *PHILOPATRIS*, as a strong Proof " of the *Truth* and the *Antiquity* of that " *Doctrine*. When, it was so well known " even to the *Heathens*, that they upbraided the *Christians* with it in the *second* " Century, for we find it then mentioned " in this *Dialogue*.

To conclude, Mr. FLETCHER of *Salton* having in several Places been mentioned by Mr. MOYLE, with due Respect, it has been thought adviseable to subjoin the Character of that Gentleman as given us by his Countryman Mr. *Lockhart* †.

* See the *Reasonableness of Christianity*. Vol. 2. page 423. the 4th Edit. 8vo.

† See his *Memoirs* &c. pag. 68.

Andrew Fletcher of Salton, in the first part of his Life, did improve himself to a great Degree by Reading and Travelling; he was always a great Admirer of both Ancient and Modern Republicks, and therefore the more displeased at some Steps which he thought wrong in King *Charles* the Second's Reign, whereby he drew upon himself the Enmity of the Ministers of that Government, to avoid the evil Consequences of which, he went Abroad; during which Time, his Enemies Malice still continuing, he was upon slight frivolous Pretences summoned to appear before the Privy Council, and their Designs to ruin him being too apparent, he was so enraged, that he concurred, and came over with the Duke of *Monmouth*, when he invaded *England*; upon which he was Forfeited. Thereafter he came over with the Prince of *Orange*; but that Prince was not many Months in *England*, till he saw his Designs, and left him, and ever thereafter hated and appeared as much against him, as any in the Kingdom. Being elected a Parliament Man, in the Year 1703, he shewed a sincere and honest Inclination towards the Honour and Interest of his Country. The Thoughts of

England's domineering over *Scotland*, was what his generous Soul could not away with. The Indignities and Oppression *Scotland* lay under gauled him to the Heart. So that in his *Learned and elaborate Discourses* *, he exposed them with undaunted Courage, and pathetical Eloquence. He was blessed with a Soul, that hated and despised whatever was mean and unbecoming a Gentleman, and was so stedfast to what he thought right, that no Hazard nor Advantage, no not the universal Empire, nor the Gold of *America*, could tempt him to yield or desert it. And I may affirm, that in all his Life he never once pursued a Measure with the Prospect of any Bye-end to himself, no farther than he judged it for the common Benefit and Advantage of his Country. He was Master of the *English, Latin, Greek, French, and Italian Languages*, and well versed in History, the Civil Law, and all kinds of Learning; and as he was universally accomplished, he employed his Talents for the Good of Mankind. He was a strict and nice Observer of all the Points of Honour, and his Word Sacred, and

* Printed in 2 Volumes 8vo.

brave as his Sword, and had some Experience in the Art of War, having in his younger Years been some time a Volunteer in both the Land and Sea Service. In his Travels he had studied, and came to understand the respective Interests of the several Princes and States of *Europe*. In his private Conversation affable to his Friends, (but could not endure to converse with those he thought Enemies to their Country) and free of all manner of Vice. He had a penetrating, clear and lively Apprehension, but so extremely wedded to his own Opinions, that there were few (and those too must be his beloved Friends, and of whom he had a good Opinion) he could endure to Reason against him, and did for the most part so closely and unalterably adhere to what he advanced (which was frequently very singular) that he would break with his Party before he would alter the least Jot of his Scheme and Maxims; and therefore it was impossible for any set of Men, that did not give up themselves to be absolutely directed by him, to please him, so as to carry him along in all Points. And thence it came to pass, that he often in Parliament stuck close to the *Country Party*, and was their *Cicero*.

He

He was, no doubt, an Enemy to all *Monarchical Governments*, at least thought they wanted to be much reformed; but I do very well believe, his Aversion to the *English* and the Union was so great, in Revenge to them, he would have sided with the *Royal Family*; but as that was a Subject not fit to be entered upon with him, this is only a Conjecture from some Inuendo's I have heard him make; but so far is certain, he liked, commended, and conversed with *High-Flying Tories* more than any other set of Men, acknowledging them to be the best Countrymen, and of most Honour, Integrity, and Ingenuity. To sum up all, he was a learned, gallant, honest, and, every other way, well accomplished Gentleman, and if ever a Man proposes to serve and merit well of his Country, let him place his Courage, Zeal, and Constancy as a Pattern before him, and think himself sufficiently applauded and rewarded, if he obtains the Character of being like *Andrew Fletcher of Salton*.

On the revived Controversy of the *Thundering Legion.*

Since *Whiston* and *Woolston* their Shafts have let fly,
To Catechise Truth and Confirm an old Lye;
Would make *Thunder, Hail, Light'ning* for Miracles pass,
And whoe'er disbelieves, — is accounted an As,
The Church-Cant let's reverse then, and own the true Foyle,
Of Religion, is Reason; and found in a MOYLE.

Errata & Corrigenda.

In the Life of Mr. Moyle.

PAge. 7. line. 16. for, and, read as. p. 10. l. 8. for *Proandropius*, r. *Procopius* and. p. 34. l. 8. — r. Elements of all of them. p. 41. l. 11. Dele the first and. p. 45. l. 17. for paid, r. exchanged.

In the Essay on the Lacedaemonian Government.

Pag. 56. l. 19. for Person, r. other. p. 63. l. 13. the Rose or the Three-Tuns, refer to those Taverns in Cambridge.

In *LUCIAN* of Sacrifices.

P. 89. l. 25. for Horses, r. *Hora*, or, Hours.

In the Argument against a Standing-Army.

P. 159. l. 5. for we, r. our Island. Ibid. l. 6. — r. *Insuperabilis*. p. 165. l. 14. — r. Thirty five Thousand. p. 166. l. 16. — r. equal to that from which *Moses* redeemed the People of *Israel*.

In the LETTERS, &c.

P. 221. In the Note, for a Play called The Unhappy Marriage. r. The Unhappy Kindness, or, a Fruitless Revenge. p. 225. l. 23. the new Lord there hinted at, was, *Charles Montagu* Esq; who was created Baron *Halifax*, Decemb. 4th 1700.

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N. B. The Letter L. refers to Mr. Moyle's Life.

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